Daily Report

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Loncar, Nonaligned Envoys Discuss Iraq, Kuwait

LD0208185890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1653 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Aug (TANJUG)—In connection with the Iraqi armed intervention in Kuwait and potential danger arising from the possibility that the situation in the region could exacerbate and become more complex, Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, as a representative of Yugoslavia, the presiding member of the Nonaligned Movement, held an urgent meeting today [2 August] with ambassadors of all nonaligned countries to the SFRY. He reported that Yugoslavia denounces the use of force, noting the necessity of an immediate withdrawal of Iraqi troops and the need to fully respect the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Kuwait, as well as the need for the conflict to be resolved peacefully, through dialogues and negotiations.

The federal secretary also briefed the ambassadors of the nonaligned countries about efforts made by Yugoslavia, as the presiding member of the Nonaligned Movement, to overcome this dangerous situation between Iraq and Kuwait, which could have broader implications for international peace and security.

At the meeting, a deep concern was voiced over the Iraqi troops' intrusion into Kuwaiti territory. It was noted that such behavior as a method of resolving conflicts is unacceptable. Support was given to Yugoslav efforts and the importance was noted for the presiding member of the Nonaligned Movement to make further efforts to resolve this problem peacefully.

Council of Ministers Discusses Economic Measures

AU0208195290 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 2000 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Text] The Council of Ministers met this morning under its chairman, Comrade Adil Carcani. The meeting examined problems concerning the introduction of the new economic mechanism, some improvements in the Council of Minister's directive on investments in basic construction, some changes in the law on the administration, maintenance, documentation, and the circulation of material and monetary resources, and in the law on accountancy, and improvements to the criteria on assessing the work of scientific research institutes active in the economic field. The members of the government stated their views on these problems and made suggestions to further improve legislation in these fields.

The meeting stressed that these items supplement the legislation and necessary legal measures to introduce the economic mechanism, but that they go further. They will also ensure the full introduction of the new economic mechanism. They are necessary and have their importance, it was said, but the first priority is still awareness and study of these decisions, and their most efficient and quickest implementation.

The Council of Ministers pointed out that many enterprises, districts, and ministries do not have a proper conception of the new economic mechanism, which relies on renewed initiative and self-motivation to achieve higher production and greater efficiency. Some enterprises, executive committees of district people's councils, and ministries, especially in the oil and mineral extraction sector, the food industry, cereal and industrial crop production, dairy production, etc., have set themselves lower targets in the 1991 draft plan than in this year's plan, and in some cases targets which are lower than expected production levels.

This very (?harmful) tendency shows that the essence of the new economic mechanism has not been properly understood, and conflicts with the self-financing of expanded reproduction, the economic solution of the issue of retaining the existing labor force and employing new workers. The meeting therefore stressed the need for a complete understanding of the new economic mechanism. The mechanism demands that an enterprise plans for a net income in a coming year which will be greater than its net income in the previous year, by way of increased production, greater efficiency, the enterprise's profits, and its workers' pay.

It was said at the meeting that because planning is being carried out on the basis of the new economic mechanism, it is unacceptable for some enterprises to plan for loss-making activities to be subsidized by the state. It is important for the 1991 plan to be drafted according to the new concept.

The meeting considered the initiative of Tirana and some other districts to mount a campaign of economic significance in order to employ everybody, by creating new jobs, starting new departments or production lines, or expanding services to the people, acting on the conclusions of the 11th party Central Committee plenum.

The ministries and executive committees of district people's councils recognized the need to find solutions as soon as possible to certain problems, such as those of stockpiled goods and goods with a slow turnover, unused machinery, spare parts, tools, excessive use of raw materials [words indistinct], which must be settled before the enterprises introduce the new economic mechanism.

It was stressed that we can no longer work under the platitude stating that measures must be taken. Instead tangible solutions must be found to each of these problems, because different kinds of answers can be found for every problem.

The Council of Ministers stressed to the ministries and every minister the need for more active supervision in the introduction of the new economic mechanism. It also criticized the tendencies noticeable in the preparatory period and now in the implementation of the new economic mechanism to exaggerate difficulties in obtaining materials and technology, including domestically produced raw materials.

The Council of Ministers stressed that, despite improvement of the organization and structures of the enterprises, the ministries, and the executive committees of the district people's councils, they also need to carefully review and improve their regulations, adapting their relevant organizational structures, including their rights and obligations, to the new economic mechanism.

The meeting also discussed the implementation of the measures taken to act on the important decisions of the 11th party Central Committee plenum and the instructions of Comrade Ramiz Alia on reorganizing handicrafts and retail services, expanding them significantly and immediately in certain specific ways.

The Council of Ministers also drew attention to the serious situation regarding electricity and drinking and irrigation water which has resulted from the still-continuing major drought. In this connection, it laid down tasks and measures for all state and economic bodies in order to overcome this situation. The Council of Ministers recognized the need to conserve electricity and drinking and irrigation water and demanded that central and local state bodies should keep watch of the situation and call on all the country's working people in the towns and the countryside to exercise strict economy and to find reserves and other alternatives.

The Council of Ministers expressed the conviction that the large-scale introduction of the new economic mechanism next year will proceed smoothly with more creative work, self-motivation, discipline, and real labor on the part of all working people, cadres, specialists in enterprises, executive committees of district people's councils, and ministries.

Situation in Kuwait Draws Government Reaction

Embassy Worker Interviewed

AU0208155790 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] Let us now turn to the situation in Kuwait. It is natural that our greatest concern is related to the situation of our Bulgarian compatriots in Kuwait and to their security at the present time.

This led us to establish contact with officials at the Bulgarian Embassy in Kuwait. Mr. Dimitrov—unfortunately I do not know his first name—to whom we also referred in our midday newscast, was kind enough to provide us with the following details:

[Begin Dimitrov recording] All Bulgarian citizens with whom we have established contact, either personally or through their workplaces, are alive and well. There are no casualties, and no Bulgarian citizen is reported to have been injured. They have gathered in their homes and are awaiting the development of the situation, in accordance with the authorities' instructions that for safety reasons, no one should go out in the street. [end recording]

This is good news for those who have relatives or close friends in Kuwait. We received this information about an hour ago, and we shall further keep you informed of developments.

Bulgaria Condemns 'Use of Force'

AU0208183790 Sofia BTA in English 1808 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 2 Aug (BTA)—Following is the text of a declaration released by the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs:

"Bulgaria received with profound concern the news about the invasion of the territory of Kuwait by Iraqi troops on August 2, 1990 and the occupation of the Kuwaiti capital.

"Bulgaria condemns the use of force in international relations and the violation of the sovereignty, the territorial integrity and the independence of any one state. We join the appeals of the international community for a political settlement of all disputes between Iraq and Kuwait, countries with which Bulgarians maintains traditionally friendly relations.

"Deploring the emergence of yet another trouble spot in that explosive region, the Bulgarian Government backs the efforts of the UN Security Council towards a pacific settlement of the conflict."

Gorbachev Congratulates Zhelev on Election

AU0208202290 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] Mikhail Gorbachev cordially congratulated Zhelyu Zhelev on his election to the post of President of Bulgaria and wished him success in his work in this high-ranking position.

In his greeting telegram, the Soviet leader expresses his hope that the comprehensive relations between the Soviet Union and Bulgaria, which rely on good traditions, will fruitfully develop at the current stage to the benefit of both peoples, in the interest of consolidating security and good-neighborly relations on the European continent.

Assembly on 'Attempts To Misrepresent' Macedonia

AU0208134790 Sofia BTA in English 1210 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 2 Aug (BTA)—On the occasion of the 87th anniversary of the Ilinden-Preobrazhenie Uprising of the Bulgarians in Macedonia and Eastern Thrace against the Ottoman yoke, today the Grand National Assembly approved a declaration expressing concern over the attempts to misrepresent some facts that were scientifically confirmed long ago.

The Grand National Assembly supports the urgent demands of the Bulgarian public for a worthy defence of the historical truth.

The documents expresses assurance that the approach of goodwill which conforms both with the historical facts and the present realities in state-to-state relations is the only one that should be applied in settling the problems between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia.

We are for equality-based cooperation and we are convinced that the road to understanding and good-neighbourly relations passes through dialogue and mutual respect for the two countries' rights and the interests, it is said in the declaration.

New Draft Law on 'Independent' Militia Published

AU0208112790 Sofia BTA in English 1021 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 2 Aug (BTA)—Today's OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK has published the draft law on the militia which will be presented for discussion in the Bulgarian Parliament. Up to now the functions and the activity of the militia have been regulated by the Act on the People's Militia adopted in 1976.

The new draft law defines the militia as an independent system within the Ministry of the Interior. It will be built on a territorial and functional principle and will be divided into national, municipal and departmental militia. According to the general provisions in the draft law the prosecuting magistracy will exert legal control over the acts and the activity of the bodies of the militia

and the state will assume responsibility for possible damages caused to the citizens by the militia.

According to one of the paragraphs of the draft law, the militia is not prohibited to tackle crimes of a political, military, racial or religious character. The militia employees will not be allowed to carry out political activity and should not be members of any political parties.

Assembly Adjourns; Four 'Documents' Approved

AU0208141590 Sofia BTA in English 1337 GMT 2 Aug 90

[By Mrs. Khristina Gulubova]

[Excerpts] Sofia, 2 Aug—After two weeks' proceedings the Grand National Assembly adjourned for four days. Until August 7 there will be no plenary sitting and only the 15 standing committees will work on.

The M.P.'s will probably use the time to peruse the reference papers on the country's economic condition, which they were promised today by the prime minister.

The government was supposed to resign today, but the chairman of the Council of Ministers, Mr. Andrey Lukanov, asked to be given until Tuesday [7 August] to prepare his report on the state of the economy. Tomorrow he will make available to the M.P.'s the written materials on which they repeatedly insisted.

In the twelve days of business since the session was opened, the Grand National Assembly managed to elect a president. Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, the leader of the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), got the top job in the land as the fifth candidate in the uncontested sixth round of voting which gave him the required two-thirds majority. [passage omitted]

The legislature also managed to pass four documents: an address to the Parliament of Romania on the condition of the environment in the city of Ruse, a declaration in connection with the 87th Anniversary of the Ilinden-Preobrazhenie Uprising, and two addresses in connection with breaches of the peace in the country.

'Macedonia All-Bulgarian Union' Marks Ilinden

AU0208183590 Sofia BTA in English 1801 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 2 Aug (BTA)—"In the course of 46 years we have been witnessing the organized falsification in Yugoslavia of Bulgarian history, of the Bulgarian national liberation movement in Macedonia and of its pinnacle, the Ilinden Preobrazhenie uprising," said the Macedonia All-Bulgarian Union in a declaration sent today to the Yugoslav ambassador in Sofia.

The union describes these acts as an encroachment on the Bulgarian cultural integrity, on the human rights to national self-identification and self-awareness, as a form of assimilating the Bulgarians in Vardar Macedonia. In conclusion the organization pledges to lead uncompromising and legal struggle within the law against Pan-Serbian chauvinism and Macedonism until the ultimate triumph of the truth.

ASO on Current Situation, Presidential Election

AU0208165390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] The approach of the Alternative Socialist Association [ASO] to restructuring problems within the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] was the subject of today's news conference organized by the organization's leadership. Valentin Vasov, ASO chairman, expressed the stand of the Political Council on yesterday's parliamentary events related to the election of the president and vice president of the Republic.

It was pointed out that the election is viewed with understanding and was welcomed with a feeling of relief. ASO is confident that the election of Zhelyu Zhelev and Atanas Semerdzhiev to the high-ranking state posts is a good choice, which is likely to ease civic tension and create favorable prerequisites for civic peace and constructive work.

It was stressed that, unlike some BSP circles, which interpret the approval of the BSP parliamentary faction of the presidential election as an evident sign of weakness and deviation from the party's interests, the ASO leadership evaluates this fact as a manifestation of statesman-like wisdom and political maturity, as a proof that the party is capable of overcoming the ideological cliches of the past.

ASO expressed its conviction that the new president will contribute to the consolidation of civic peace and national consensus. ASO's participation in the movement for radical changes within the BSP was confirmed.

BSP Radicals Speak of 'Bridges' to Opposition

AU0208162390 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 31 Jul 90 p 2

[Dora Chichkova report]

[Excerpts] We regard ourselves as one of the bridges for maintaining a dialogue with the forces of reason in the opposition, stated Georgi Karasimeonov at a news conference at the Sofia Press Agency on 30 July. Taking part were members of the Coordinating Council of the Movement for Radical Change in the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], who had been elected at the movement's first national conference held on Sunday (29 July). [passage omitted]

There are people who are prepared for extremist actions within both the BSP and the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], stated Anzhel Vagenshtayn in connection with the declaration adopted at the conference, which asserted that provocation from one side is about to cause a counterreaction with unforeseeable consequences. [passage omitted]

Vagenshtayn is seriously worried about the emerging signs of anti-Semitism and neofascism in the country, and about manifestations to which the mass media are turning a deaf ear.

Alarmed comments were made about the events outside the National Assembly on the evening of 27 July, when hundreds of citizens who had attended a concert in the so-called "City of Truth" surrounded the parliament building. There are good grounds to suspect that this did not occur spontaneously and solely under the influence of the live transmission of the dispute in parliament on how the hearing of Todor Zhivkov should be transmitted. The draft document of the National Assembly was reportedly read to the assembled multitude by someone in a car belonging to the Civil Disobedience Movement. [passage omitted]

Ethic Unrest Blamed on BSP's Nationalist Links

AU0208105890 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 25 Jul 90 p 1

[Petur Iliev and Lazar Dimov article: "The Great Game of Patience"]

[Text] The political situation in Bulgaria is like a barrel of gunpowder which may blow up at any moment. The level of tension is rising because of the ethnic unrest in regions with a predominantly Muslim population. In Razgrad, the factories are on strike and the stores are not operating. In Khaskovo there is a sit-in at the Shipka Printers, and calls are being raised for an effective strike and for halting food deliveries to Sofia. The situation is similar in Burgas, Shumen, Kurdzhali, and Isperikh. Everywhere, the actions are being directed by the Nationwide Committee for the Defense of National Interests and the Fatherland Party of Labor. There is a real likelihood of a clash on a nationality and ethnic basis. The consequences of such a precedent may prove tragic for Bulgaria.

The systematic errors committed during the last 100 years in our nationality policy have formed a knotty problem which is very difficult to unravel, a problem whose existence the party—and no other—decided to utilize for its own purposes, and tightened the knot to the limit. The party is now attempting to draw dividends from the fanning of nationality passions through committees (the Nationwide Committee for Defense of National Interests) and parties (the Fatherland Party of Labor), which the party itself has created and is financing. Information about this has been published in the press, but has been deliberately left without explanation.

At the same time, a complete information blackout has been imposed on the activities of the organizations of the Committee for National Reconciliation, which have sprung up truly spontaneously. This committee is perhaps the only body which is attempting to do something specific to calm down passions in connection with the nationality issue.

The suicidal success of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party, meaning the Socialist Party] in the elections, its loss of the political initiative, and the raising of the slogan "No more concessions to the opposition" are undoubtedly connected with the nationality issue and its alarming developments.

The appearance of information and facts about the secret, or already not so secret, great alliance between the BCP and certain nationalistically oriented parties and organizations has created a new situation in playing the cards dealt out in the political game. This is giving rise to a great game of patience, in which each player pretends to wait, while at the same time pursuing his own desires for power, instead of the national interest.

At the same time, in Sofia the City of Truth is growing fast. At the moment there are 142 tents there, and the city has 1,030 inhabitants. A unique form of protest has been developed against demagogy and political irresponsibility.

The most recent declaration in the developing political game of patience has turned out to be a big bluff, as usual. This time, it took the form of Council of Ministers Decree No. 78 [on public order]. Given that the statute book already contains more than enough laws on this subject, what point do the instructions of this decree have apart from an attempt to scare the dissidents?

The single-party government is trying to light the fuse leading to the powder keg, but so far it has been unsuccessful, thank God. We do not yet know whether the powder will prove to be damp, or the fuse defective, but we hope that this will be their last attempt, because the next may prove successful.

Ruse 'Civil Courage Movement' Continues Sit-in

AU0208200190 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Lyuben Antonov report from Ruse; date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] At precisely 1900, a sit-in group and many supporters of the Civil Courage Movement in Ruse, carrying black banners and posters with slogans demanding clean air and a clean environment, once again blocked and closed the border with our northern neighbor at the Danube Bridge.

In his short address, Simeon Lozanov, chairman of the movement, stressed that this was an expression of the protest voiced by the Civil Courage Movement and the entire Ruse population against the nonobservance of the deadlines for publicly announcing the results of the commission's evaluations of the work carried out on the second block of the Giurgiu plant.

The joint Bulgarian-Romanian experts' commission, which is currently working simultaneously in Ruse and Giurgiu, was expected to announce its results by 31 July,

but these results have not been released, nor have the reasons for their delay been disclosed.

The sit-in strike that is beginning tonight at the Danube Bridge border checkpoint started at 1900 and is expected to continue through 2100. It will go on for as long as no specific results of the commission's work have been reported.

At the same time, the Civil Courage Movement declared its readiness for constructive dialogue with competent organs for the prompt and effective solution of ecological problems in the Ruse-Giurgiu region.

Within less than half an hour, between 1900 and 1930, long lines of hundreds of private automobiles, trucks, and buses formed on both sides of the border waiting for the sit-in to be lifted at 2100, which should force the competent authorities to think about their actions.

'Illegal' Pro-Yugoslav Organization Denounced

AU0208204390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Statement issued by the Regional Directorate of Internal Affairs in Blagoevgrad on 2 August, read by unidentified announcer—live or recorded]

[Text] Over the past few days the Regional Directorate of Internal Affairs, the local Prosecutor's Office, and some mass media in Blagoevgrad received numerous citizens' complaints expressing indignation over the activities of the so-called Ilinden United Macedonian Organization.

On 31 July, leaders of the organization were summoned to the District Prosecutor's Office and to the Regional Internal Affairs directorates in the towns of Sandanski and Petrich and were warned to abstain from their illegal activities.

Regardless of this, the Blageovgrad Regional Internal Affairs Directorate was informed today that a group of Ilinden supporters from Sofia and Blagoevgrad are preparing to hold a constituent congress in the village of Oshtava, Sofia Oblast.

The organs of the Regional Internal Affairs Directorate and the municipal authorities in Kresna and Oshtava villages prevented the event because of its illegal nature. The leaders of the organization shall be subject to administrative punishment in the form of fines.

Young Socialists Protest Against 'City of Truth'

AU0208144890 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 31 Jul 90 p 2

[Text] Unless the "City of Truth" is dismantled within one month, and unless we receive written assurances from the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] that it will not be reestablished, we will construct an alternative town of the same size in the center of Sofia. This is stated in a declaration by the National Council of the Socialist Youth Union which was issued yesterday through BTA.

Video, audio, and printed materials which prove the emergence of neofascist tendencies in the behavior of SDS members and supporters will be disseminated worldwide, and help will also be sought from the global anti-fascist movement.

Podkrepa TU Urges Prompt Economic Reforms

AU0208185290 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 30 Jul 90 p 2

[Text] Sofia, 29 Jul (BTA)—The Federative Council of the Podkrepa Trade Union Labor Federation submitted a declaration to BTA in which it is pointed out that the party which has the majority in parliament should be the one to form a government following the categorical refusal of the Union of Democratic Forces, the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, and the Rights and Freedoms Movement.

Taking into consideration the country's extremely difficult economic situation in the meantime, the Podkrepa Federation categorically demands that the government should not restrict civil rights under any circumstance or pretext whatsoever. The current situation requires an immediate freezing of prices as long as an indexation of wages has not been introduced. The declaration urges the Council of Ministers not to issue any official documents related to social problems without consulting the trade unions in advance. The government is requested to publish data and figures on the minimum social incomes, while the indexation of wages for incomes below that minimum should be kept in line with inflation.

The declaration demands that the state organs should sell state property only in public auctions and only after consulting with labor collectives for their opinions. Last, but not least, the declaration requests the introduction of stimulating credits and tax exemptions and more advantageous customs regulations for the private and cooperative sector, so that new jobs may be created.

Continued, New Food 'Rationing' Reported

AU0208143990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] The Ruse Municipal Council adopted special measures against disproportions and shortages of basic foodstuffs in the market, and as in numerous other Bulgarian cities, rationing cards [taloni] have been introduced for the sale of sugar, oil, and detergents.

Unlike the recently introduced ration cards in Ruse, which were distributed by district social organizations, the newly introduced rationing cards shall be distributed by the city's townships.

The Tutrakan Municipal People's Council also introduced rationing cards for the sale of sugar, detergents, and some other basic foodstuffs and consumer goods, trying to put a stop to hoarding, and normalize the supply situation. A visible easing of tension around the stores has been observed as a result of the newly introduced rationing system.

Price of Socialist Daily DUMA Increases

AU0208142790 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 31 Jul 90 p 2

[Text] Dear readers, DUMA is also compelled to seek a solution through higher prices. The editorial board might have done this much earlier in order to accumulate a reserve of capital for rainy days (which have indeed arrived), but finally decided to grit its teeth as long as it could. However, the time has come: Beginning Wednesday, 1 August, the price of a six-page issue will be 20 stotinki, while an eight-page issue will cost 30 stotinki.

As far as the reasons are concerned, you can judge for yourselves. Editorial and production costs are rising, despite the fact that the editors are now producing the paper with fewer journalists and technical staff, and despite the sharp cuts in our network of correspondents at home and abroad. Good printing requires good money, and we have to pay dollars or a great many leva to achieve this. We do not know what the coming months will bring, when we will have to competitive for newsprint, and when the paper will have to take into consideration the prices of basic materials and services.

Be this as it may, we are bound to point out that, in comparison with our competitors, DUMA was the last to resort to this extreme measure.

Visa Payment Regulations Said To Be Outdated

AU0208162090 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 30 Jul 90 p 2

[Text] Our editorial office received a letter signed by Yordan Velichkov, head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Consular Department. He would like to pass on some information to the general public concerning citizens who are preparing to travel abroad, in order to make things easier for them. At the same time, he would like to submit a request to the State Savings Bank related to some unsettled problems which have caused additional and unnecessary complications for the bank's clients.

Velichkov explains that, according to an instruction of the Ministry of Finance which dates back to 1978 (!), citizens are expected to obtain their visas for foreign countries from the Consular Department of the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, are supposed to pay their fees to the respective branches of the State Saving Bank in Sofia and in Sofia Okrug, and can obtain their passports and visas only after having presented a receipt from the bank. The instruction expressly forbids any official from the Consular Department to accept cash in hand from private citizens who are applying for visas and passports.

The situation is different today. From 1 January 1990 to 26 April 1990, the Consular Department handled the cases of 26,213 citizens applying for foreign travel passports and visas to various countries. Yordan Velichkov further points out that as of October 1989, the State Savings Bank instructed its tellers not to accept any money for entrance visas. Naturally, this not only complicates the work of the Consular Department, but also causes discontent. Some people have been waiting over a month for their visas and passports, after they applying for annual leave and purchasing air tickets to the United States, Canada, Australia, Sri Lanka, and other countries, and people who are going abroad for medical treatment are unjustifiably forced to postpone their departure.

After numerous meetings and exchanges of letters, the problem was partially solved—it was agreed that fees for visas to foreign countries should be paid only to the State Savings Bank branch on 19, Moskovska Street in Sofia. However, as of April 1990, the tellers at this branch accept only fees from citizens resident in the area of the respective branch. The discontent of citizens from other Sofia districts, let alone that of those from the provinces, had to be expected. Velichkov says: "The employees of the branch did not succeed in persuading citizens from Silistra, Vazrna, and Burgas that they should return to their native towns to pay for their visas after which they are entitled to leave from Sofia Airport."

The Consular Department recently received a complaint from the State Savings Bank saying that the bank refuses to accept fees for visas even from people living in the area of the respective branch. In addition to this, the bank tellers incorrectly advised people to pay their visa fees to the respective foreign embassies, despite the fact that the visas were already paid for by the Bulgarian Ministry's Consular Department.

It is evident that the State Savings Bank is totally confused. We expect the Ministry of Finance to provide some clarifications about the illogical implications of such outdated instructions.

Government Condemns Iraqi Attack, Urges Withdrawal

LD0208171590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Excerpt] The Czechoslovak Government has issued its statement on the Iraqi attack. It points out that this act by the Republic of Iraq crudely violates the universally valid and recognized norms of international law embedded in the UN Charter, by the signing of which Iraq undertook not to use force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state. The Czechoslovak Government resolutely denounces this act of open aggression, and calls on Iraq to immediately halt its military actions and to unconditionaly withdraw its troops from Kuwaiti territory in the spirit of UN Security Council Resolution No. 660, which was issued today. [passage omitted]

[Prague Domestic Service in Czech at 1700 GMT on 2 August adds the following to the government statement: "The Czechoslovak Government also voiced its conviction that all disputed international issues can and must be resolved only through peaceful means."]

Kuwaiti, Egyptian Diplomats Received

LD0208170990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] Today Deputy Foreign Minister Vera Bartoskova received the charge d'affairs ad interim of the State of Kuwait and informed him of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs' rejection of Iraq's military intervention in Kuwait. She also received the ambassador of the Arab Republic of Egypt and demanded that the Egyptian Government use all resources to find a peaceful solution to this conflict.

Summoned Iraqi Envoy Fails To Appear

LD0208195990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1930 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Excerpts] Today the Czechoslovak Government decisively condemned open aggression by Iraq against Kuwait. [passage omitted] The diplomatic representative of Iraq was summoned to our Foreign Ministry to be told about our official stance, but he did not appear. Czechoslovakia has decided to hold up the departure of our new ambassador to Baghdad.

Dienstbier Views Pentagonal Meeting Results

LD0208174790 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1300 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] Foreign Affairs Minister Jiri Dienstbier, who attended the session of the Pentagonal group in Venice, left for Malta today. Assessing the prospects for many of the challenging projects which the Pentagonal summit discussed, Minister Dienstbier said that conducive political conditions exist for their implementation. This is a plan which is challenging not only from the financial point of view, but also from the point of view of timeliness, above all in the area of transportation, where construction of new motorways and railways is planned. Minister Dienstbier noted that these plans will probably not be implemented without loans from international financial institutions, but will above all be managed by economic circles of member countries of the Pentagonal group.

Official Summarizes Talks in U.S.

LD0208182290 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] At the end of his visit to the United States, Sasa Vondra, adviser to the president of the republic, summed up the results of his talks with U.S. representatives. He described as the principal aim of his visit the effort to learn the method used in the United States to provide the President with the latest political information.

Sasa Vondra went on to speak about U.S. aid to Czechoslovakia, noting on this occasion that he was informed in Washington that we were going to obtain most favored nation status very soon. Some topical problems were also discussed; for instance, the shortage of oil on our market and possibilities of conditional trade.

On the issue of Cuba, Sasa Vondra expressed the view that the representation of its interests in the United States is in fact superfluous, as the interests of Czechoslovakia and Cuba have lately differed so widely that the representation is only a formal one, and there is a need to reassess it.

Havel Congratulates Bulgaria's Zhelev on Election

LD0208174690 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1330 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] President Vaclav Havel has sent a congratulatory telegram to Zhelyu Zhelev on his election to the post of president of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. In the telegram he voiced the conviction that his election would contribute to strengthening the influence of democratic forces in Bulgaria. He assured the Bulgarian president that Czechoslovakia is interested in the further development of all-around friendly relations while the process of democratic changes in the two countries will assist in developing mutual relations on a new basis.

Havel Congratulates New Hungarian President

LD0308131790 Prague CTK in English 1119 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] Prague Aug 3 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel has sent a congratulatory telegram to his Hungarian newly- elected colleague Arpad Goncz saying that he is convinced that his election Hungary's president will help strengthen the position of democratic forces in the country.

He stated that Czechoslovakia wants to continue the development of all-round friendly relations with Hungary in the spirit of the outcome of their recent meeting in Prague.

Deputy Foreign Minister on Third World Relations

AU0208194190 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 31 Jul 90 p 4

[Report on interview with CSFR Deputy Foreign Minister Vera Bartoskova by "(zk)"-signed reporter; place and date not given: "The Role of Developing Continents in Our Policy"]

[Text] When asked what role developing countries will play in our foreign policy, Deputy Foreign Minister Dr. Vera Bartoskova, says: "We want to build relations with the countries in Africa, Asia, Latin America, as well as Oceania based on new principles."

She adds that "during the past 40 years, relations with developing countries were stigmatized—beside mutually beneficial aspects—by innumerable deformations. Ideological goals aimed at expanding the influence of the communist bloc have lead to the fact that, for decades, a closer circle of the developing countries—those which subscribed to the so-called socialist orientation—received preferential treatment. Equitable cooperation was emphasized, yet, in fact, these countries were very often used as a market for stagnating Czechoslovak industrial production and as a source of raw materials, energy, or agricultural products.

"I am convinced that developing countries will become very important economic and trade partners for us, whose significance, from the Czechoslovak foreign policy point of view, will grow. In the view of ethnic, religious, and other conflicts, the world of developing countries enters the system of international relations as a factor of growing economic, demographic, and ecologic importance."

"The extinction of the confrontational line between West and East and the still growing abyss between the countries of the North and South logically forces the developing countries to activate political, economic, and cultural relations with Europe and North America," Dr. Bartoskova adds. She recalls years-long good traditions from the period between the world wars and points out that joint enterprises and affiliations, as Skoda (Malaya) Ltd. in Kuala Lumpur, Zlin Co. Ltd. in Singapore, SCIS in Teheran, Skoda Platense in Buenos Aires, Sneico in Lagos, and others, provide for our good name.

As far as assistance to developing countries is concerned, Dr. Bartoskova stresses that "we have a debt toward the developing countries which must be paid. Also the Czechoslovak humanitarian assistance was deformed in the past. The Czechoslovak participation in various assistance programs has been very often suppressed. The bilateral assistance was based on the previous, ideologically motivated priorities of foreign policy. According to UN statistics, the Czechoslovak assistance in 1988 represented only 0.16 percent of the total amount of help. Some projects, particularly bilateral ones, have helped acquiring a good name for Czechoslovakia in the developing countries, for example the long-term scientific and technological assistance, acceptance of university graduates and volunteers, and sending out experts. The humanitarian aid to the victims of natural catastrophes and disasters, such as the recent earthquake in Iran, is not without significance either."

Czechoslovakia has been seen in an unfavorable light recently, which is due to the worries being propagated abroad that West Europe and the United States are switching their means designated for the assistance of developing countries toward economic aid to East Europe, which also includes Czechoslovakia. On this subject, Dr. Bartoskova says:

"I think that, in the Czechoslovak case, these worries are not justified. It is generally known that we are not asking developed countries for economic assistance, but rather for technological assistance, while emphasizing mutual cooperation. We do not represent a competition for the aid which is designed for developing countries. At the same time, it is in our interests that our partners in developing countries overcome their difficulties. The crisis in their development significantly weakens the opportunity for our cooperation."

How does the deputy foreign minister see our future relations with the RSA?

"This will depend on developments in South Africa. Our standpoint toward apartheid is definitely negative. We regard it as a gross violation of human rights. We will continue to respect the internationally accepted obligations regarding apartheid. We are in favor of a peaceful and political solution to the conflicts within the RSA."

Dr. Bartoskova states that, in South Africa itself, it is possible to see a positive development today—from confrontation toward dialogue. "The positions of the apartheid opponents are becoming stronger. Important anti-apartheid organizations have begun to legally operate in the RSA, and they have begun direct negotiations with the South African Government. We want to take this development into account and to draw the consequences for our foreign policy from it."

One more important aspect: "We cannot continue to overlook the existence of the community of our countrymen—numbering several thousands—in South Africa. Some former injustices toward them have already been rectified, but a lot of work is waiting for us here."

Foundation for European Cooperation Set Up

LD0208170890 Prague CTK in English 1222 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] Prague Aug 2 (CTK)—A foundation for European cooperation, named after [the] king of Bohemia, has been set up in Czechoslovakia.

The foundation supports activities aimed at overcoming the post- war division of Europe, at the issues of security and cooperation in Europe and at a full participation of Czechoslovak in further development of the all-European process.

King George of Podebrady (1420-1471), after whom the foundation is named, was an outstanding politician who strove to prevent war conflicts by negotiations. He was the first European ruler to try to set up a peace union (in 1464).

The George of Podebrady Foundation will monitor and offer to the public information concerning the issues of security and cooperation in Europe, organize lectures, discussions, courses and seminars with the participation of Czechoslovak and foreign experts; it will issue various documents and it plans to create a documentation and information centre for the public. The foundation should also enable visits of outstanding personalities to Czechoslovakia and Czechoslovak participation in international events. The foundation's activity will be financed from social funds, from benefits and grants of sponsors and individual citizens and groups supporting it.

The foundation came into existence on the impulse of the assembly of political parties, associations and movements, founded last February. It groups parties and movements which failed to get into parliament in last June's elections although they gained approximately 17 per cent votes. The Czechoslovak Helsinki Committee, the Czechoslovak Committee for European Security and Cooperation and the Association for a European Home have contributed considerably to the establishment of the foundation.

Soviet Withdrawal Continues as Planned

LD0208202990 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia is continuing as planned in the summer period. Over 32,000 soldiers with the appropriate number of tanks, military vehicles, automobiles, and combat planes, as well as ammunition and materials left our territory by 0600 this morning. The withdrawal of the tank division from Straz pod Ralskom will start in the next few days, just as that of the motorized rifle unit from Milovice. This is creating prerequisites for the departure of the Milovice Soviet tank division to end as planned by 15 October of this year.

Protest at GDR Violation of Trade Pacts

LD0208165990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1550 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] Prague (ADN)—Czechoslovak Government spokesman Zbynek Fiala today criticized the GDR's failure to adhere to trade agreements at a news conference in Prague. If the upcoming talks between the responsible ministers from both countries do not achieve results, the CSFR reserves the right to take "appropriate measures." GDR Economics Minister Gerhard Pohl is expected in Prague next Tuesday [7 August].

According to information supplied by Fiala, the GDR has canceled agreed upon supplies of goods amounting to 230 million transferable roubles. Above and beyond this, GDR enterprises are refusing to conclude firmly promised contracts for supplies amounting to 175 million rubles. Apart from this, the GDR has not taken up the agreed upon 232 million rubles for travel. However, Czechoslovak organizations have already purchased goods in the GDR for this amount. The CSFR is threatened with a pile of debts totaling 800 million rubles at the end of the year.

Government Discusses Tax Reform, GDR Relations

LD0208204490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1800 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] The most important point on the agenda of today's federal government session was a draft concept of a reform of our tax system, which is an individual part of our country's switch to a market economy. The approved draft clarifies that the tax system, whose nature is similar to that found in market economies of highly developed countries, comes into effect in our country beginning 1 January 1993. The project envisions the introduction of a value-added tax, comsumption tax, universal income tax, immovable assets tax, and some other measures structured in such a way as to achieve a unified and clear-cut effect.

The federal government discussed topical developments in the field of economic relations with the GDR in the period following the declaration of monetary union and expressed its dissatisfaction with the fact that the GDR is not fulfilling the valid contract obligations toward Czechoslovakia. The government regards such a development as totally unacceptable. It outlined the guidelines for the forthcoming talks between the appropriate ministers of both countries and reserves the right to make further decisions.

Police Investigate Hostivar Reservoir Explosion

LD0208194990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1900 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] An as yet unidentified explosive device went off on the water's surface at the Hostivar water reservoir in Prague's District 4 this afternoon. A timing device was found at the scene. According to the results of a preliminary investigation, it is likely that the explosive is of the same type as the one used at Old Town Square on 2 June.

As a result of the explosion, two people suffered minor injuries, which, fortunately, did not require medical attention. The police are now investigating the nature of the explosive material used.

Finance Minister Explains New Tax Reforms

LD0208203390 Prague CTK in English 1835 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] Prague Aug 2 (CTK)—A new system of taxation should take effect in Czechoslovakia on January 1, 1993, Czechoslovak Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus told journalists after today's session of the Czechoslovak Government.

He noted that the new system is conceived at a level usual in Western Europe, i.e. it will be based on the value added tax. Besides, the new system will include the consumption tax (in cigarettes, for instance), the income tax which will embrace all incomes of the population, including winnings, revenues from interests, etc., the newly introduced taxes imposed on enterprises and companies which will be uniform irrespective of the form of ownership, the road tax, and others.

Minister Klaus admitted that experts from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank warn against the too short term for the reform's introduction (which is almost five years abroad). On the other hand, he noted, entrepreneurs and central bodies would like it to be launched as early as January 1, 1992, Minister Klaus said.

On October 1, 1990, purchase taxes on industrial products should be unified in Czechoslovakia. Now there are some 1,600 various taxes which should be remade into three categories of 12, 22 and 32 per cent which will simplify and make transparent the whole situation in prices and taxes. This constitutes a necessary prerequisite for the liberalization of prices scheduled for the beginning of next year, the minister stressed.

Taxes paid by enterprises and their payments to the state budget will also be unified as from next year, while the payments to the state budget will be reduced, Vaclav Klaus added.

Dubcek on Personal Philosophy, CPCZ Role

AU0208181390 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 31 Jul 90 pp 1,3

[Interview with Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek by Marie Konigova and Dalibor Macha; place and date not given: "I Will Not Be Different"; first paragraph is RUDE PRAVO introduction]

[Excerpts] Alexander Dubcek has become a symbol for our people. His name is associated with the Prague Spring reform movement, with socialism, and with democracy. After more than 20 years, he has again returned to political life and has become the head of our highest legislative organ. [passage omitted]

[RUDE PRAVO] You were reproached for being too soft a politician, for giving way to emotion, and for adopting a compromising attitude. Some people are trying to foist these opinions on the public today.

[Dubcek] I will not be different. I never enforced my will by violence or even by stubborn or underhand means. It is necessary to try to reach an agreement on something, although this takes longer than it does from a position of strength. By the stances I have adopted in life, I have proven that I am able to make such decisions that support the interests of the majority of our people. In 1968 I elected the path of punishment rather than try to be an accessory to the "normalization" policy. I do not have to prove that the "allies" would have welcomed this.

A good word, program, or deed will achieve more than the fist. In short, I believe more in man's good than in his evil.

[RUDE PRAVO] From some of the questions asked at meetings with representatives of the Prague Spring, we have become aware of a certain thorny issue—why you signed the so-called Moscow Protocol. We have even heard the word "treachery"....

[Dubcek] When the allied armies perfidiously invaded our country in order to halt the revival process, they crushed all our ideas with their firing power. After all, this was an army made up of half of Europe! It is impossible to forget that Hungarian troops occupied the whole of southern Slovakia and Polish units occupied the republic's north east.... U.S. troops, on the contrary, had withdrawn further from the Czechoslovak border. Let the surplus strategists reproach me for whatever they want, I still insist on one thing: In seeking a compromise, I was motivated by the endeavor to prevent a bloodbath. An army which receives an order to occupy a country and to change its policy must not stop without fulfilling its tasks and achieving its objectives. However, even without resistance, people were killed in our country. They had to confirm that the occupation was intended seriously. Even today I consider it to be unacceptable to demonstrate heroism before the world without any hope of success and at the cost of thousands of lives. [passage omitted] Today I am even more convinced than I was then that we were only able to win morally. Military resistance, which many people still call for today, would be hazardous and suicidal. [passage omitted]

[RUDE PRAVO] When the election for the chairman of the Federal Assembly was being held in June, some deputies—just as they did last December—referred to your weltanschauung. What has remained in you of this past? What good things did your membership of the Communist Party give you?

[Dubcek] I will begin with the last part of your question. This membership made it possible for me to recognize that it was impossible to go further along the road the party was following. I recognized that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] was at an ideological and organizational crossroads. [passage omitted] Therefore, in 1968 we attempted to reform the political system. This included cooperation with the socialist and social democratic parties in advanced countries. We highlighted this policy in our Action Program. [passage omitted]

[RUDE PRAVO] What should the CPCZ do if it wants to have a place in our new society? In our new pluralist and democratic society?

[Dubcek] It is not for me to give advice to a party of which I am not a member. I think it should get rid of a number of policies and outdated, incorrect opinions which have led to a loss of trust in the CPCZ. It is necessary to ideologically and organizationally part ways with those who led the party into the role of "policeman" instead of into the role of serving the people. It will then be necessary to give the altered party another name. All of this should be done not for the sake of appearances but in the interest of the gradual and real transformation into a modern left-wing party which will be ideologically and organizationally closer to the left-wing socialist parties in the advanced countries of Western Europe.

[RUDE PRAVO] Have you ever considered returning to the CPCZ? What about now, at a time when the party is renewing itself?

[Dubcek] Yes. That was at a time when I thought that the strength would be found within the party to again attempt to change the party's ideas and the party itself. That it would part ways with Brezhnevite neo-Stalinism, our unfortunate heritage of "bolshevization," the dictatorship of the proletariat, and everything that distanced the party from the people.

Despite my appeals, an internal force capable of instigating a turnaround within the party was not found. [passage omitted] I chose the path of the civic movement, where all democratic forces could be united so that the Czechoslovak Bastille on the Vltava—the main barrier to democratic development in our society—could be stormed.

The process of the CPCZ's renewal—which you mentioned in your question—has departed, and still is slowly departing. However, I do want to believe that today this awareness has sunk into a considerable part of the CPCZ and that this is a sincere effort to transform the party or to create it anew so that it can become one of the partners of the new democratic parties and movements, which have evolved from the revolutionary struggle to which I also belong.

Therefore, as Federal Assembly chairman, I am trying to unite all the democratic forces in the people's interest. For this reason, I do not belong to any political party. The Revival Club proposed me for election as a Federal Assembly deputy, and I campaigned within the framework of a civic movement.

[RUDE PRAVO] It is said that where there is a strong right wing, a strong left wing should also evolve....

[Dubcek] The Communist Party, that is, a party of this left- wing orientation, has its place in a pluralist system. However, if it does not change, then it will be difficult for it to assert itself. I know that it has many members who joined with honorable intentions and humane ideals. Because of some of its socioeconomic principles, for example, its point of view on ownership, it would rather form part of the opposition, but being permanently in the opposition is not a program. In time the party would become a sect; after all, we have witnessed this in a number of European countries. The strong Italian Communist Party recognized this danger and drew conclusions from it—an ideological and "organizational" departure from the CPSU. As a consequence of this, it still occupies a significant place in Italy's political structure.

Another aspect is a left wing—putting it simply—oriented toward pluralist power in accordance with the people's choice and toward respecting a whole scale of forms of ownership, including private ownership. It asserts its social policy by a process of socially managing the market economy. A left wing will obviously be formed in our country and can make itself felt more effectively in political pluralism.

[RUDE PRAVO] The Communist Party took a considerable number of capable and professionally trained people into its ranks. You have declared that when we want to get rid of Communists today, we also want—in this way—to get rid of a great creative potential, brain power....

[Dubcek] This is basically true. The political system and the CPCZ's position in social life meant that important people in all branches of activity were party members. Society should not get rid of these people just because of their CPCZ membership. I do not share the collective guilt point of view. This has already happened once, in 1970, when half a million reform Communists were removed from social life following the screenings. We are not such a large nation that we can repeat a similar "purge" the other way round. However, many things in practice will depend on the restructuring of the CPCZ itself, so that membership in it does not arouse fear and political mistrust among people.

[RUDE PRAVO] You are one of the creators of the idea of socialism with a human face. Do you still believe in it? What kind of face should it have now?

[Dubcek] This profoundly ideological axiom from the 1968 reform movement perhaps expresses most flexibly of all the humane, social, and democratic aims of that period. Therefore, this process acquired its wings and almost acquired an independent life and movement. It aroused hope as well as hatred. It was crushed by allied tanks and was buried deep in the ground by Husak's leadership. However, it is impossible to crush the idea that socialism with a human face expresses. The people have again, on a different level and under new social conditions and forms, necessitated the endeavor to make society more humane.

[RUDE PRAVO] We are interested in today's relationship between socialism and capitalism. Has one of them triumphed or will they still have to learn to live beside each other?

[Dubcek] That is a serious, theoretical question. I can only give you my empirical opinion, which may be contested. I think that neither of them has triumphed in the contradictorily clear-cut concepts that were used. Strong, socially oriented tendencies also developed after World War II in our country in reaction to the capitalist world's lack of success during the previous decades. [passage omitted] I believe that a kind of revolutionary process of rapprochement is taking place in which the class struggle, violent seizures of power, and dictatorships have departed into the past. During this evolutionary development, the father of which is social democracy, something new corresponding to humane interests and values has evolved or is evolving.

I am leaving it up to the theoreticians, possibly the new ideologues, to decide what to call this stage of development or this social formation in ideological concepts.

[RUDE PRAVO] Thank you for the interview.

Slovak National Party Role, Future of CSFR

AU0208153390 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Aug 90 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Slovak National Party Chairman Vitazoslav Moric by RUDE PRAVO correspondent Igor Sirota; place and date not given: "Each on His Own to Europe?"; first paragraph is RUDE PRAVO introduction]

[Text] Vitazoslav Moric, 44-year-old electrochemical engineer, entered the political stage only recently. The deputy director of the state enterprise, Zelenina Martin, is today a deputy of the parliament and the chairman of the Slovak National Party (SNS).

[Sirota] The SNS appeared in the political arena very suddenly, and one can say that it both flared up and caused surprise. How do you explain the interest in your party? Why, despite the election results, have you not been offered a government position?

[Moric] Just as the 1960's brought the national liberalization movement to the former African colonies, the 1970's are marked by the national liberalization of the peoples of East Europe from totalitarian oppression. One consequence of this is the self-awareness of the Czech and Slovak nations. Therefore, I do not think that the formation and activity of our party was surprising. Moreover, we intend to form a constructive opposition, which would not only criticize but also help in dealing with the problems.

[Sirota] Your success is often attributed to the wave of nationalism. What is your opinion of the coexistence of Czechs and Slovaks?

[Moric] I would not say the wave of nationalism, but the wave of national self-consciousness. If Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians want to live alone, they want to utilize the right given to them by the Constitution. Hence, one cannot speak of nationalism. The same is true of Slovaks. Regarding the coexistence of Czechs and Slovaks, our standpoint is very positive, and I said that in my speeches. Neither Europe, nor we, can afford to have an adverse coexistence of two nations as close as the Czech and Slovak nations.

[Sirota] You did not directly answer my question, so I will ask it in another way: Opinions vary regarding the entry into Europe. Should this be done separately by the Czech and Slovak nations, or together? There are more factors indicating joint entry.

[Moric] I think the opposite. I know of fewer facts about the call for a joint entry and, I believe, we each have to enter Europe on our own and sit in two chairs as two equal national government entities.

[Sirota] Is the establishment of the branches of the Presidential Office and of the Foreign Ministry in Bratislava not the first step toward Slovak independence?

[Moric] I do not believe that it is the first step or any step at all in this direction. The establishment of these institutions was dictated by needs encountered only during the president's term of office.

[Sirota] The concept of independent Slovakia will bring to the minds of many citizens of the Czech Republic an association with the Slovak State [of the 1940's]. How do you regard the past? What is the stand of the SNS on Tiso? After all, is he not fascism personified?

[Moric] We do not want to separate Slovakia. We want to form a Slovak Republic and a Czech Republic. By doing so, we would also help the Czech people realize that they are not Czechoslovaks but Czechs, one of the most ancient nations in Europe.

Regarding Tiso, the SNS does not consider itself to be the successor to Hlinka's People's Party. The SNS is an old party, established in 1861, and it has its own traditions. We wish, however, to be a modern party as called for today. Tiso should be investigated by historians; this is not the task of a party. I repeat: We are not claiming succession to the Slovak People's Party of which he was a member.

[Sirota] You are focusing on national problems, and this could mean that you neglect social problems. The great industrial centers in Slovakia—for instance, Martin and Kosice—will be, or are beginning to be, hit by unemployment.

[Moric] That is true. We will be hit by unemployment. Our policy details a social program—particularly in connection with the conversion of the heavy and armament industries. On the other hand, we will support the development of consumer industry.

[Sirota] In the roundtable on television, you indicated that you will acquaint yourselves with the Slovak foreign capital. This provoked a strong opposition. Do you insist on this?

[Moric] It prompted a strong disagreement by a single person (at the roundtable), who, under the totalitarian regime, traveled all over the world. This regime enabled him to become acquainted with everything he had wanted to become acquainted with.

I said that such an orientation would be clearly beneficial; we would become acquainted with the Slovak foreign capital. We are businessmen and as such we will not work for a pretty smile. If, on the other hand, someone is to benefit from investments in Slovakia, then we prefer the foreign Slovaks—that is all. We do not expect anything for free. We do not need financial assistance; we need contacts in the world. There is a provision, however, that no foreign-trade enterprises headquartered in Prague will stand between the Slovak and foreign companies.

Moreover, I believe that the question was not phrased correctly. After all, capital is always owned by somebody; it is only used internationally. Our consideration, therefore, will be for the owners and not for the capital.

[Sirota] What membership does your party have, and what are your immediate goals?

[Moric] First, we want to focus on the legalization of Slovak as the official language throughout Slovakia. That is now our most important goal. The number of members is not important. What is important is instead the number of sympathizers supporting the party, the voters.

[Sirota] After some speeches in the Federal Assembly, only two groups of deputies applauded—those from the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] and from the SNS. Do these two parties have some points in common? Does it confirm the theory that extreme views are mutually attractive?

[Moric] I would like to mention here that we do not have any extreme opinions. I think that the CPCZ is a left-wing party, and we regard ourselves to be a right-of-center party. We do not therefore have extreme views. As far as the common applause is concerned, it could have occurred, but more as a result of personal affinity with the deputies than with a joint platform. At the moment, we do not have any points in common with the CPCZ, or at least I am unaware of them.

[Sirota] Whom of the prominent personalities do you consider to be your model?

[Moric] I very much admire Stefanik, Clementis, De Gaulle, and of the contemporary personalities, presidents Havel and Gorbachev are close to my heart.

[Sirota] Thank you for the interview.

Slovak Daily Considers Presidential Role

AU0208171290 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 31 Jul 90 p 3

[Igor Cibula commentary: "Parliament Will Not Be Second"]

[Text] Among the most discussed provisions in connection with the preparation of the constitution of the new Czech and Slovak federative state will certainly be the definition of relations between national republics and the federal government, or the questions related to their jurisdictions. In the view of fears arising from a potential weakening of the federal government's position—but also from the concerns about the integrity of Czechoslovak statehood—some Prague circles believe that the president should assume the role of an integrating element.

Despite the fact that, in some cases, Vaclav Havel's behavior in his presidential office is felt as overstepping his constitutional authorities, it is impossible to judge Havel's behavior by comparing his position to the position of the U.S. President. Above all, it is important to mention the subordination of the Czechoslovak president to the Federal Assembly and the absence of the presidential veto applied toward the laws passed in parliament. In this regard, Vaclav Havel did not get into the position of a strong president due to his jurisdiction, but due to the political authority which he enjoys in the government and in parliament.

Czech political experts believe that strengthening the presidential authorities in the new constitution will not be possible without giving him the right to postpone the parliamentary meetings and to dissolve the parliament. According to them, the position of a strong president will require him to have the right to veto the laws passed in parliament. Some proposals even go so far as to suggest that the president be stripped of his responsibility to the parliament and of his obligation to recall the government upon a vote of no-confidence.

The discussion about the new constitutional draft has not been made public yet, but irrespective of this, it is desirable that the topical questions related to this subject be opened already. The issue is that the indications for the orientation toward a presidential system became apparent to those who observe the organizational structure of the presidential office. Despite respect for Vaclav Havel, the new constitution should be conceived in such a way so as to guarantee internal stability of the Czechoslovak state without compromising the sovereign rights of both national republics, nor should the federal parliament yield to taking on a secondary role—something which the parliament, being composed of deputies, would not let happen easily.

Unionists Threaten To Stage Token Strike

LD0208200390 Prague CTK in English 1551 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] Prague Aug 2 (CTK)—Unequivocal disagreement with the Czechoslovak Government's solution to the situation caused in the country by reduced supplies of Soviet oil only through economic tools is expressed in a resolution from a session of the federal chemical industry trade union presidium on July 31 to August 1 which was made public here today.

The increases in the prices of petrol and other oil products by 50 per cent on July 18 are described by the resolution as inadequate and temporary, and the government's decision as precipitate.

To solve the situation emerged, the trade union convenes a working meeting of representatives of major Czechoslovak production organizations in the chemical industry.

It also plans talks with the Soviet Embassy commercial counsellor and checking out the situation right in Soviet mining enterprises. The trade union also wants to ask the Czechoslovak Government to allow its representatives to take part in the nearest talks on oil supplies with the Soviet partner, and to discuss the issue with the government in order to find objective prices for oil products.

The resolution warned that if the government fails to seek and find an optimum solution, the trade union will call on the other trade unions to stage a token strike.

Decision on Bartoncik Criticized

LD0208200490 Prague CTK in English 1547 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] Prague, 2 Aug (CTK)—[Words indistinct] July 28 decision of the Czechoslovak People's Party central committee on the return of Mr Josef Bartoncik to the head of the party," said a statement of the Civic Forum coordinating committee which was handed to CTK today.

"In our opinion this decision jeopardized the fundamental principles of political ethics connected with the process of democratic change in society after November 17, 1989," the document stressed, adding that all materials and [words indistinct] relations with state security (STB) bodies, Mr Bartoncik has not denied.this accusation either, the Civic Forum coordinating centre said.

Despite this the leadership of the People's Party describes Bartoncik's behaviour in the past years as quite natural or even politically advantageous, the statement underlined, pointing out that it is necessary to protest against this in the most resolute way.

"We declare that this attitude of the Czechoslovak People's Party leadership prevents the return of moral values into public life, seriously jeopardizes cooperation between the Civic Forum and the People's Party and the possibility of a joint procedure in the autumn communal elections," the Civic Forum statement said.

"Now it is clear that the pretended neutrality of the Civic Forum Coordinating Centre was a mere manoeuvre", according to a statement of the Central Committee Presidium of the Czechoslovak People's party handed over to CTK here today.

The statement is a reaction to a statement published by the Civic Forum Coordinating Committee.

Nobody can expect to be able to dictate to the Czechoslovak People's Party who can or must not execute party functions. The return of Josef Bartoncik to the function of the party chairman was decided by its Central Committee adopted with a clear consent of party members, the statement said.

Pointing out "hypocritical double morals", the People's Party statement says that persons who had leading functions in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and were in fact superior to the secret police (STB) under the totalitarian regime, have been entrusted by the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence with executing high government functions. It is unnecessary to speak of contacts with STB in these cases, the statement said.

"Elements of a new totalitarianism, against which we are going to defend ourselves resolutely, are emerging on the basis of the Civic Forum, pretending to be an organization of all citizens and a kind of a new 'leading force' of our society", the statement pointed out.

GERMAN UNIFICATION

Notice to Readers: *In order to provide information concerning German unification in one location for the benefit of our readers, materials on that topic from the FRG, GDR, and other media is now being published in the German Unification Attachment to the West Europe DAILY REPORT.*

Iraqi Ambassador Summoned Over Kuwait Invasion

LD0308093390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0858 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Iraqi Ambassador to the GDR Riyad al-Azzawi has been summoned to the GDR Foreign Ministry for a talk. As the ministry announced on Friday, the responsible section head, speaking on behalf of the foreign minister Thursday evening, expressed the GDR's deep concern about the aggravation of the situation in the Persian Gulf. He strongly emphasized the need to end hostilities toward Kuwait and to withdraw Iraqi troops.

The section head stressed the GDR's view that international disputes should be settled exclusively by peaceful means and with strict respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of every state.

As early as Thursday morning, Foreign Minister Markus Meckel called upon Iraq to withdraw its troops from Kuwaiti territory without delay.

Rejection of Further Aid to Cuba Criticized

AU0308084990 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 31 Jul 90 p 2

[Heinz Jakubowski report: "Refusal to Give Development Aid to the Sugar Island"]

[Excerpts] One still recalls Minister Ebeling's words that he definitely intends to de-ideologize development aid. One also recalls his statement on continued aid to Cuba: Even though he does not consider preferential prices for sugar useful, he is willing to discuss other forms of humanitarian aid to this country with the partners there.

After another round of consultations with the corresponding FRG ministry in Koblenz over the weekend [28-29 July], there is now a report on this matter which is considerably different. It says that as of now, no state aid will be granted to Cuba anymore. If aid is needed, it will be the task of the churches....

The churches humanitarian dedication in the Third World is indisputably great and useful. However, if the GDR, as a state, no longer wants to have anything to do with Cuba, one can only assume that it is now joining those ranks of people from the West—above all the United States—who have opposed the island as a stronghold of social changes for years. [passage omitted]

Has there really not been any opportunity—in discussions with the Cuban side, which Wilhelm Ebeling mentioned in an interview with NEUES DEUTSCHLAND just a few days ago—to find substitutes for aid which continues to benefit the people? There must be such possibilities since there is now an appeal to the dedication of the churches.

No, unfortunately the result of the Koblenz meeting concerning the question of Cuba smells like an FRG walkover. Unfortunately, it is also another indication that makes one assume that the embrace of such unequal partners as the two German states will leave very little of the goodwill of the smaller partner. Or is this all only a question of interpretation?

Soviet Memo on Camps Said 'Full of Untruths'

AU0308105190 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1 Aug 90 p 1

[ADN report: "Memorandum Full of Untruths; Kurt-Schumacher Circle Contradicts USSR"]

[Text] West Berlin (ADN)—The Kurt-Schumacher Circle opposed the "USSR Interior Ministry memorandum on special camps in the former Soviet occupation zone" in a statement.

The statement conveyed to ADN says that the memorandum "is full of untruths and distortions and offends the German victims of Stalinism in many cases."

The USSR ministry is reproached for its failure to carry out "careful investigations," as claimed. The Schumacher Circle asks GDR Interior Minister Diestel to request the USSR to withdraw the memorandum, and have the situation at that time objectively assessed.

FRG Said To Find No Chemical Weapons in GDR

AU0308121390 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 1 Aug 90 p 2

[ADN report: "NVA Does Not Have Chemical Weapons"]

[Text] Geneva—The inspection of installations of the National People's Army (NVA) by a team of Bundeswehr experts has shown that no chemical weapons are stored in the GDR. Yesterday, at the plenary session of the Geneva disarmament conference, GDR Ambassador Dr. Peter Dietze pointed out that immediately after the emergence of rumors about chemical weapons in the GDR, the GDR Government invited an inspection team from the FRG to inspect NVA installations of their choice. According to Dietze, only small amounts of chemical substances were found in the inspected installations; these substances are used in the authorized research for the development of protective means [Schutzmittel].

Defense Ministry Spokesman Defends Expenditures

AU0308081990 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 31 Jul 90 p 7

[Interview with Disarmament and Defense Ministry Spokesman Colonel Uwe Hempel by Paul Entwistle; place and date not given: "Does the National People's Army Intend to Waste Hundreds of Millions of Deutsche Marks?"]

[Text] [Entwistle] Mr. Hempel, 989 million Deutsche marks [DM] for the purchase of weapons systems—this no longer fits in the political picture, does it?

[Hempel] First, I would like to stress that these are not new orders for procurement, but rather technical equipment that was ordered some time ago for maintaining the National People's Army's [NVA] capability of action, and which is to ensure the Army's financial status. This includes, for instance, expenditures for fuel, maintenance, and also scrapping.

[Entwistle] What do you mean by technical equipment ordered some time ago?

[Hempel] Among other things, two ships which are used for coast guard operations because of their lack of missiles, a training helicopter, submachine guns, and better protection for tanks.

However, in addition, there is also the financial penalty for the contracts with the Soviet Union which we have not honored. For instance, we have canceled contracts worth DM2.3 billion.

[Entwistle] What about the MiG-29?

[Hempel] We have not ordered any further planes of the MiG-29 model. We already have 20 of them, and that is it. We have to buy other large pieces of equipment because they have already been finished. Canceling the orders would be even more expensive.

[Entwistle] What about current cooperation between the NVA and the Soviet Army?

[Hempel] The political decision to gradually take the GDR out of the Warsaw PAct requires—in the long run—military decisions as well, for instance, regarding participation in joint exercises. One of these consequences is that the NVA has canceled any further participation. Another factor is that exercises of the old scope, with more than 15,000 participants, no longer fit in the political picture. The NVA leadership has expressed its view to the Polish and the Soviet side. We believe that national exercises are sufficient for the necessary amount of training; international exercises are unnecessary.

[Entwistle] What does the future of the NVA look like?

[Hempel] Currently we assume that every state has a duty to care for its soldiers. If one wants to reduce or completely disband an Army, one has to answer the question of what will happen to the soldiers who are no longer needed.

[Entwistle] FRG Chancellor Adviser Horst Teltschik is publicly imagining the immediate dissolution of the NVA. What do you think of that?

[Hempel] What Mr. Teltschik can and cannot imagine is exclusively his own business. If I start out with such an attitude, then I cannot speak in terms of unification; this does not look like unification at all. Condemning all officers as having been contaminated by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany is completely pointless! Actually, there are only two basic considerations for me—either someone is too stupid to do his job, and he must be dismissed; or he is not, and then he keeps his job.

Eppelmann Explains Cuts in Armament Orders

LD0208112190 Hamburg DPA in German 1038 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] Bonn (DPA)—Disarmament and Defense Minister Rainer Eppelmann once again defended himself in Bonn today against accusations that the National People's Army is continuing to arm through the purchase of Soviet armaments. "We are European champions at disarmament," the controversial minister told the news conference.

Eppelmann referred to the fact that it has been possible, after the changes in the GDR, to cancel arms orders to the value of DM2.8 billion. There are remaining orders of DM221 million, which he regards only as "remaining stock." But this, too, would be under negotiation. He therefore found it difficult to "swallow," he complained, when he was described as an "armament minister" in the press.

Eppelmann described the demand made by FRG Education Minister Juergen Moellemann (FDP) [Free Democratic Party] that the DM221 million would be better transferred to schools and universities, as "right, but unrealistic." Even if it were possible to be released from the long-term treaties, there would be treaty fines amounting to the total sum involved.

Eppelmann, who met FRG Defense Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg [CDU—Christian Democratic Union] this morning, drew a positive balance of his period of office, started in mid-April. He emphasized that the GDR Army is committed to the developments in the GDR and to Lothar de Maiziere's government. All is calm in the barracks, although many wonder "how I will earn my living tomorrow."

Views Troop Reduction, Retraining

LD0208134790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1218 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—According to Disarmament and Defense Minister Rainer Eppelmann, the 60,000 soldiers and officers of the NVA [National People's Army]

should be be incorporated into an all-German federal Army, which, in line with the agreement between Kohl and Gorbachev, would be 370,000-strong. The present strength of the NVA is 98,000 personnel, with a civilian staff of 44,000. The GDR politician said this immediately after a meeting with FRG Defense Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg in Bonn today. The two ministers intend to meet again next week.

Eppelmann told the federal news conference how the NVA could be reduced to the necessary level in the least socially harmful way. There was a discussion of an early retirement scheme after age 55 for a "majority of the top officers," and for professional NCO's [noncommissioned officers]. Former political officers and others could be transferred or retrained. However, the NVA has no money for this. Federal German banks and insurance companies had expressed interest in taking on and retraining NVA officers who had received a good education in general. Eppelmann also thought that dismissals would be a way of cutting back the top staff. Of 300 generals, 100 have already been sent home.

Rainer Eppelmann came out strongly in favor of a fair integration of the two German Armies. He does not think it very probable that from the beginning of German unification onward NVA members will wear federal Army uniforms; however, all officers and NCO's who are guilty of no offence under formal law should be given the opportunity after 2 December. For ranks up to major, a probationary period of one year, and above that rank, of two years, is envisaged.

Eppelmann argued in favor of there being an all-German disarmament and defense minister after the elections in December, as well as a state secretary responsible for the present NVA.

He decisively rejected reports in the West German media which had described the disarmament minister as the "arming minister," because of current weapons purchases. Without exaggeration, he could say that the GDR is the "European champion in disarmament." During his 100 days in office he has cancelled GDR arms contracts—mainly with Moscow—to a value of DM2.8 billion. The last long-term agreements will be cancelled before the end of August. Only DM221 million is left in the budget, according to Eppelmann, for "remaining items" of technology and military supplies.

Eppelmann's announcement that the destruction of Stasi weapons now possessed by the NVA—including ammunition—would take 10 years, amazed journalists. If one wanted to destroy the entire weapons potential of the NVA, it would take 40 years at today's capabilities.

The ordered withdrawal of Soviet troops from GDR territory might take longer than expected, Eppelmann said. He wished that it would happen in the next 24 hours, but he doubted very much whether it could be done in the next four years with 500,000 to 700,000 soldiers, civilian staff, and dependents.

Diestel Opposes Banning Ex-Stasi Members

AU0208111390 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 31 Jul 90 p 3

[Interview with Interior Minister Peter-Michael Diestel by Jan V. Flocken and Erwin Jurtschitsch; place and date not given: "Professional Ban Is Nonsense"]

[Text] [DER MORGEN] When you assumed office you stressed that you would complete the dissolution of the Stasi [State Security Service] by unification. Now you are accused of massively hindering this dissolution.

[Diestel] The current state of dissolution has been described in a 500-page document that has just been completed. We want to establish the preconditions for the technical dissolution by German unity. Then the historians, philosophers, jurists, and social scientists have to basically deal with this entire complex and thrash it out. The thorough thrashing out is important for the lesson which history has to draw from this process.

[DER MORGEN] Can you guarantee that today there are no longer any Officers in Special Deployment (OibE) [Offiziere im besonderen Einsatz] who sit in important positions in the government, or the country?

[Diestel] I cannot guarantee this because I do not even know who is an officer for special tasks. You know that a People's Chamber committee is dealing with this problem, and this committee also has a list of these OibE. Thus, I do not have the slightest information about who they could be; thus, I cannot make any decision or effect any changes.

[DER MORGEN] Do the OibE constitute a danger to the economy and the social structure of the country?

[Diestel] It is a secret structure, which served the old system. It is necessary to unravel this structure. We will talk with these people and then decide whether or not a change is necessary.

[DER MORGEN] There are interesting attempts at self-purification in Potsdam, where employees of the bezirk [district] leadership were requested to sign a statement that they were never Stasi employees. Do you perhaps see this as a precedent for the Interior Ministry?

[Diestel] I have many Stasi members here. Whenever I put new people in important positions, I made sure about the facts. My predecessor was forced to hire more than 3,000 former employees of the Ministry for State Security [MfS]. So as to not paralyze the government, we could not fire these people immediately. We know that these people do not pose any danger at all.

[DER MORGEN] Could one say that you are the only one who could sign the aforementioned statement here?

[Diestel] The head of my office, too, perhaps, and quite a number of other people. Your question is incorrect and unfair. One cannot simply equate Stasi and the People's Police.

[DER MORGEN] What do you think of the demand from Social Democratic Party [SPD] circles that a professional ban be imposed on all former Stasi members in civil service?

[Diestel] If this demand really comes from the SPD, which I do not believe, it is nonsense. There were cooks, fishermen, foresters, and hunters in the MfS. There were people in this ministry whose family members also had to become employees. I am against any examination of mental attitudes. For me the yardstick is loyalty and capacity for performance. We do not have the ability or the right to pry into the minds of the people to find out what they think, and what they thought 10 years ago. In the past you and I rejected this when the FRG issued the decree on radicals, carried out ideological terrorism, and similar things. I reject this today as well.

[DER MORGEN] The two special committees have made enormous accusations against you of hindering their work.

[Diestel] There were these accusations. As a result, the People's Chamber Presidium met with these committees and the interior minister, and regulations were agreed upon, which completely eliminated my reservations.

[DER MORGEN] Your former party colleague Haschke stressed in parliament that the result of your measures is that the parliamentary committees no longer have any reason to exist, that they could practically dissolve themselves immediately.

[Diestel] A parliamentary investigation committee has the task to control and investigate. Executive measures have to be taken by the government and by the government structures. Investigation committees cannot carry out the dissolution.

[DER MORGEN] The People's Chamber deputies are to be investigated to determine whether they were Stasi employees in the past. How is this possible if you make it difficult to get the files?

[Diestel] That is wrong. The files contain not only information about you, but also about your acquaintances and friends. If you are an OibE and someone wants to read your file, then he necessarily gets information about your wife, acquaintances, and friends. This cannot simply happen in this way. Therefore, a method has been developed in order to have a representative of the affected person's interests present.

[DER MORGEN] What the method specifically means is: 2,000 OibE, four people have to be present; this means five years are necessary to dissolve the OibE structure.

[Diestel] What is a matter of course concerning data protection in the FRG must also be applicable to an OibE.

[DER MORGEN] But first of all the court must have his files.

[Diestel] It gets them. We have a Council of Ministers decision which permits this.

[DER MORGEN] If, in the specific question of the OibE, the committee, after reading the list, wants to prove that the person in question was an OibE, it must have the files.

[Diestel] It is known who these OibE are. Special Committee Chairman Gauck should now talk to these people. For this he does not need files.

[DER MORGEN] But their actions have to be proved. Who is supposed to do this?

[Diestel] The responsible organs.

[DER MORGEN] Not the committee?

[Diestel] It could also be the committee, but this would not have any legal consequences.

[DER MORGEN] What is to happen with all the Stasi files?

[Diestel] There are many files which concern FRG citizens. It is important that both groups—the files about FRG citizens, which the MfS collated illegally, and the files about GDR citizens, which were also collated illegally—be considered as a unit. Either both sets are destroyed, or none of them. If the files are suited to effect rehabilitation, they must be kept, of course. I think that a period of six to nine months is suitable for claims resulting from these files to be raised, and then they can be destroyed.

[DER MORGEN] Why do you insist on this destruction?

[Diestel] I see a danger in the possibility that as soon as the GDR no longer has the legal sovereignty to deal with this problem itself, an all-German parliament might decide: We have to see what kind of 16.5 million people we have accepted. In the future, if someone applies for a seat as a deputy, or a professor's post, overeager people could think of simply checking on the past of this person. If this can be done for 60 million FRG citizens as well, okay. But this is not the case, and if we want equal opportunities, this criminal material should be destroyed. These files must not give rise to disadvantages for a second time. But if the People's Chamber decides differently, I will establish the preconditions for keeping them.

[DER MORGEN] Something like the Document Center in Berlin?

[Diestel] This Document Center started to leak after four years. The problem with these files is that they can be the iron ball on the leg of the prisoner.

[DER MORGEN] Can you explain this in a credible way?

[Diestel] These files contain incredibly detailed information about the individuals—50,000 to 80,000 pieces of information about one single person—accounts, curricula vitae, everyday life. There is no reason to keep

something like this if it was collected without the approval of the person in question.

[DER MORGEN] When you assumed office, there were some irritations. Someone with your kind of career defends the Stasi "employees who are wandering around without any prospects" and not the victims. What is your philosophy in dissolving the MfS? What are you afraid of?

[Diestel] I am not afraid of anything. I have an unjustifiable measure of self-confidence. Even though I am not a good Christian, the principles by which I am guided are characterized by Christian values. As a lawyer I have a strongly developed sense of what is right and what is wrong, and I also have a sense of what is right and what is wrong that is specific to Diestel himself. I see the danger of 86,000 Stasi members being globally condemned, being pushed away. In view of the high degree of organization and the good qualities which they may still have—such as discipline, etc.—this would be an absolute danger to our young democracy.

[DER MORGEN] Does this also apply to the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] members?

[Diestel] A total of 2.4 million SED members were the elite in this country, and if we now want to marginalize them—and there are certainly plausible reasons for why circles outside the GDR have an interest in this—one would perhaps marginalize one-third of the population, or even more if one includes their wives and children. This is simply not possible.

[DER MORGEN] But there is certainly a difference with the Stasi people.

[Diestel] One has to look at this with perspective. After all, every country has military reconnaissance. They are also members of the State Security Service.

[DER MORGEN] But we are talking about those who spied on others.

[Diestel] This has to be investigated. Every individual accusation has to be investigated separately.

[DER MORGEN] Aren't you now arguing like many people argued in the FRG after 1945, where it was always said that officers and civil servants only carried out their orders?

[Diestel] Well, after 1945 people were prudent enough and did not drive away all former hangers-on, or all SS members either—of course, not all of them were criminals, there was also a fighting SS—or all members of the National Socialist German Workers Party. Attempts to establish individual guilt were insufficient. In Nuremberg some war criminals were executed. Not a single judge or public prosecutor was held accountable for his actions. This is unsatisfactory to me. However, at the beginning many people were at least given the opportunity to participate in rebuilding. This should also be done now.

[DER MORGEN] Do you believe that there will be a trial of some Stasi members at some time in the future?

[Diestel] I would be very happy about this. It is absolutely necessary that proceedings be started against those who were responsible for this system, which was hostile to mankind. I consider it necessary to arrest Erich Mielke again.

[DER MORGEN] You said that at the end of the month you will be able to present evidence so that Honecker and Mielke can be held accountable under criminal law. How are things in Honecker's case?

[Diestel] I cannot tell you this. You are the last one who will hear this from me.

[DER MORGEN] What will you do after 2 December? We have heard that you would like to take over an all-German Ministry of Youth and Sports.

[Diestel] One cannot put it this way. I would like to deal with sports. Since we can contribute quite a bit in this field, and I am also the president of the Police Sports Association, I see prospects in this area; however, I also see prospects in party politics of the Christian Democratic Union of Germany. There I have found many people who acted out of their convictions, with whom I would like to cooperate.

[DER MORGEN] If you think back to your first months in your office, and compare them with what you knew before, would you say that you were surprised, shocked?

[Diestel] It was worse than I thought. I was surprised and startled. But there were also very pleasant hours, if one works with like-minded people and is able to achieve results. I am accepted by large parts of the population. Logically, this means that some things have been done right.

Diestel Discusses Stasi Espionage in Austria

AU0208112690 Vienna KURIER in German 2 Aug 90 p 2

["Exclusive" interview with Peter-Michael Diestel, interior minister and deputy prime minister, by Rupert Haberson; place and date not given: "Austrians Were Stasi Agents"]

[Text] [Haberson] What was the extent of the espionage activities of the GDR, the State Security Service [Stasi], in Austria?

[Diestel] We know that the former Ministry for State Security was very much interested in Austria. It was easy to organize secret service activities because of the common language. I told your ambassador today that I will provide your republic with as much information as possible.

[Haberson] With three listening stations, the "Stasi" tapped telephone calls and radio communications of many Austrian politicians, ministries, and companies until 1990....

[Diestel] This is an outrageous act that cannot be justified at all by the rule of law. If we find information that affects your country's privacy or secrecy, we will do everything to avoid damage. We will control its destruction, and brief Austria on the volume of existing material.

[Haberson] What will become of the listening stations?

[Diestel] Of course, they will have to be dismantled and—when a clear legal situation is established—be used for purposes as defined by the rule of law.

[Haberson] Secret services are of the opinion that the GDR dealt above all with economic espionage.

[Diestel] If this is the case, it is a clever aspect, because Austria is ahead of the GDR in the economic field. It would be all too human to do some spying in this field.

[Haberson] The "Stasi" also recruited Austrians for espionage—in the ministries and enterprises. How many?

[Diestel] I cannot tell you their number. However, I can assure you that we will do everything to ascertain their number and to neutralize these activities that harmed Austria very much.

[Haberson] Can you estimate whether there were 10 or 100 of them? Will you give the names of these "Stasi" spies?

[Diestel] If the legal situation permits, I will give the names when we ascertain them. I am sure that Austrians were recruited by the "Stasi." Estimates would be questionable. However, there were several of them, not just a few. Regarding espionage, I will try to find a way to dispel justified Austrian fears.

[Haberson] Did the GDR Embassy support terrorist attacks in Vienna?

[Diestel] I do not consider it possible that GDR authorities were involved.

Decree on Claims for Expropriated Property Issued

AU0308083990 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 31 Jul 90 p 2

[DDP/BZ report: "Decree on Registering of Property Claims"]

[Text] Bonn—Those who were affected by expropriations in the GDR must register their claims for compensation by 31 January 1991 at the latest. Yesterday, the GDR Government officially announced a corresponding "Decree on Registering Property Claims."

According to the Bonn Justice Ministry, this decree sets down who may register claims and where. According to this information, persons who left the GDR and whose property was then expropriated, or was put under state administration, are eligible to register claims. Persons who lost their property "as a result of illegal machinations" may also register their claims. Illegal machinations are, for example, corruption and abuse of power.

The decree does not apply to expropriations carried out under Soviet occupation law in the period between the end of World War II on 8 May 1945 and the founding of the GDR on 7 October 1949. Real estate property, with houses, which is burdened with debt as a result of rents that do not cover costs and, as a result of excessive debt "was taken over as people's property by means of expropriation, renunciation of property, or donation" are not affected by the new decree if they were administered privately. However, the decree does apply to real estate with houses that was put under state administration. According to the information, the claims on property must be registered in writing with the chief administrative office or the city administration of the last residence in the GDR. Those who filed an application before 15 July 1990 have to register their claims again.

Interest groups representing people whose property was expropriated by the GDR have criticized this decree as an "alibi action." The decree does not list all property that was seized. There were "hundreds of other kinds of property and millions of expropriations which" took place "without any justifiable legal basis."

East Berlin Apartment Rents Expected To Increase

AU0308103090 East BErlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1 Aug 90 p 1

[ND-Audersch report: "Soon Western Tenants in East Berlin"]

[Text] East Berlin—Private owners in East Berlin may rent their apartments to West Berliners as of 1 September. Subsequently, high, as yet unpredictable, rent increases can be expected in the eastern part of the city. This was announced by GDR Construction Minister Dr. Axel Viehweger, West Berlin Construction Senator Wolfgang Nagel, and East Berlin Construction City Councilor Dr. Clemens Thurmann after their first official meeting at a news conference yesterday.

DM200 Million Subsidies for Consumer Goods

AU0308105090 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1 Aug 90 p3

[ADN/ND report: "DM200 Million in Subsidies for Consumer Goods"]

[Text] East Berlin—Enterprises that produce textiles, clothes, shoes and leather goods, household chemical products and cosmetics, as well as other consumer goods and that have a chance of surviving on the market are receiving subsidies from the state budget. This was announced by the Finance Ministry on Tuesday [31 July]. The subsidies, which are to be applied for at the Economics Ministry, may be granted up to an amount of 11 percent of the taxable turnover and are limited until 31 December 1990. The budget for the second half of 1990 allocates 200 million Deutsche marks for this.

Foreign Ministry Demands Iraqi Withdrawal

LD1708182090 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] The Hungarian Foreign Ministry considers it necessary that Iraqi troops be immediately withdrawn from the territory of Kuwait and for talks to begin on the cessation of hostilities. The Foreign Ministry communique emphasizes that the Hungarian Government, in line with the UN Charter and the norms of international law, considers any step directed against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of another state unacceptable. It rejects solving interstate conflicts through military means, and supports the peaceful settlement of disputes through negotiations.

Through diplomatic channels, the Hungarian Foreign Ministry has requested information from Iraq and Kuwait on the reasons for, and developments concerning, the outbreak of the military confrontation.

Envoy in Kuwait Reports

LD0208143490 Budapest MTI in English 1334 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] Kuwait, 2 August 1990 (MTI)—None of the about 200 Hungarian citizens staying in Kuwait was injured during the Iraqi military action, all of them are safe, Janos Friss, charge d'affairs ad interim of the Hungarian Embassy, informed MTI by phone on Thursday.

The Iraqi offensive launched last night did not find the colony's members totally unprepared, since the precautionary measures introduced at the time of the Iraq-Iran war were still in effect.

The diplomat said that at Thursday noon (Hungarian time) embassy staff observed the movement of Iraqi tanks in the city centre and heard the sound of artillery gunfire. Kuwaiti radio and television continue to broadcast patriotic songs.

Janos Friss said they saw no sign of a power struggle in Kuwait. The Iraqi allegation that Baghdad had sent its troops against the Kuwaiti regime, at the request of Kuwaiti revolutionaries aiming to overthrow the system, is merely an excuse for the aggression, Friss said.

Flights to Middle East Canceled Indefinitely

LD0208154990 Budapest MTI in English 1449 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] Budapest, 2 August 1990 (MTI)—The Hungarian airline Malev announced that it had cancelled flights to Baghdad, Kuwait, Dubai, Abu Dhabi and Doha for an undetermined period of time.

National Assembly Elects Goncz President

LD0308092190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0833 GMT 3 Aug 90

[From the live relay of the Hungarian National Assembly proceedings in Budapest on 3 August, chaired by Assembly Speaker Gyorgy Szabad]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Szabad] Esteemed National Assembly: The Returning Committee has concluded its work; I call on clerk Zoltan Trombitas to announce the results of the election.

[Trombitas] Protocol on the election of the president of the Republic, drawn up on 3 August 1990. There were 310 votes cast— 308 were valid, two invalid. The number of votes cast for the candidate was 295. [applause and cheering; unidentified correspondent says Goncz is getting standing ovation]

[Szabad] I ask the clerk to continue reading the protocol.

[Trombitas] There were 13 votes cast against the candidate.

[Szabad] Esteemed National Assembly, I pronounce the decision: The National Assembly of the Hungarian Republic has elected Arpad Goncz president of the Republic. [applause] [passage omitted]

Acceptance Speech

LD0308103490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0846 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Speech by President Arpad Goncz to the National Assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Text] Esteemed House, my dear friends. Allow my first words to be words of thanks. It is a good feeling that every party of the house, and the group of independents alike, agreed with my nomination because they, according to the unambiguous testimony of the free elections, represent the overwhelming majority of the Hungarian people. Thus I can rightly consider myself jointly elected, not merely by the country's parliament, but by the country. This might have been more eloquently expressed if I could have been weighed in the balance before the people themselves, but I nonetheless feel that the office of president could barely have withstood many more months of provisionality without a serious impairment of its prestige. This would have had serious repercussions on the country's political stability.

Also allow me to say that I know that no matter how unequivocal this appointment has been, it is addressed not so much to me as to those persons of our most recent history whose colleague—and in some cases fellow prisoner—I have been in the course of my life, whose names mark out the stages of my political existence. If they were alive, I would gladly see any one of them in the chair of president of the new Hungarian Republic as more worthy than I. Such defenders of the independence of the Hungarian nation as Endre Bajcsy-Zsilinszky, the leader of the

Hungarian Students' Freedom Front, who died a martyr's death; the director of the Peasant Alliance, (Sandor Kiss), who was tortured on Margaret Boulevard; or the one-time general secretary of the Independent Smallholders' Party, Bela Kovacs, who was deported and lived many years as a convict in Vorkuta. Such as Imre Nagy, the martyred premier of 1956; such as Istvan Bibo, in whom were embodied the most noble democratic ideas, Christian patience and love of country, and independence. Such as Ferenc Donath, the bridge builder, tireless until his death, the inheritor of the best traditions of the March Front; or like the communist and noncommunist participants of the Resistance, who sacrificed their lives for our national independence, the Istvan Angyals and Janos Baranys, who shed their lives in the street battles of 1956 and ended their lives on the gallows.

Perhaps this list of names—the list of names of my one-time schoolmasters, comrades, and friends—proves that I am not, I cannot be, the servant of parties, party interests. All my life, inside or outside a party, I have served and will serve the nation's independence; free thought; the free word; the idea of free faith in a free homeland; the defense of social justice that is fulfilled in human rights and does not recognize discrimination and exclusion; Hungarian democracy, which also ripens in party debates; the future, the future that is marked by the two victorious Hungarian revolutions trampled underfoot in the fullness of their victory—the serf-liberating freedom struggle of 1848 and the worker- liberating one of 1956; that democracy whose full realization we have yet to accomplish.

Along the similarly meandering path of my life, I was fortunate to have been able to learn firsthand what is the worker's lot, the peasant's lot, the lot of the free intelligentsia. I am therefore not cut out to be a man who forges narrow class interests. If I wish to serve anyone, I will serve those who have no servant, the defenseless ones, who gained nothing good either in the world of the plumed gentry or in the world of the some-more-equal-than-others, those who in the competitive society are unable to compete, who have no means to protect themselves and who for this very reason are most in need of protection.

Finally, let me say to you that I am not afraid of debates. I have never hidden, nor will I ever hide, my opinion under a bushel, because truth ripens in debate. I have always trusted and do trust in the strength of truth, just as I trust also that the Hungarian people are perfectly ripe for democracy, they recognize and are capable of defending its interest, its truth, and, as has been proven more than once in the recent past, their judgment is secure and also manifests this with word and deed. Therefore, I rightly believe that a future, a bright future, awaits them. In this belief, I dare to accept your mandate, which does me honor, to be, together with yourselves, the servant of this future. Thank you.

USSR Restricts Sub-Carpathian Border Travel

LD0208211290 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] Since 1 March of last year, residents of Szabolcs county and of four districts of Sub-Carpathia could more easily travel to each other's regions as part of the small border traffic [kis hatar forgalom]. Unquestionably, the increased desire to travel was accompanied by several negative manifestations, until the agreement—which, up to then, was regarded as a triumph of perestroyka—was temporarily suspended by the Soviet partner.

At four border crossing points, and at Zahony, residents of the four regions of Sub-Carpathia, mainly Hungarians, and residents of the county of Szabolcs-Szatmar-Bereg cannot travel in either direction with the so-called little passport.

The chief Soviet consul at Debrecen, in an interview which appeared today in the newspaper KELET MAGYARORSZAG, said that the Soviet partner is interested in reducing the traffic to our country at the small border because goods already in short supply are being brought up by the travelers and resold here at reduced prices. The statement by the chief consul, however, did not make any reference as to what the reasons are for the residents of Szabolcs-Szatmar being deprived of the so-called simplified border crossing. Once again the rules which were in force during the period of stagnation are valid.

According to information received this afternoon, the Soviet partner agreed, at the initiative of the Hungarians, that parents can travel to collect their children who are on holiday with friends or relatives on either side, and that the county construction company can continue to build the hospital in Beregovoy.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] It is public knowledge that this intergovernmental agreement was unilaterally broken by the Soviet partner. What is the Hungarian Government's view?

[Unidentified speaker] Indeed we consider it most regrettable that this came to pass; more than 700,000 Hungarian citizens traveled from the region and more than 4 million Soviet citizens traveled from this region to Hungary. The basic aim of the agreement on the traffic around the little border was to simplify relations between people who live in the border region, on either side of the borders, to make this travel possible. Unfortunately, it has now become more difficult.

[Reporter] What can be expected in the near future?

[Speaker] We are awaiting the reply of the Soviet partner as we recommended an expert discussion. We are waiting for an answer to this from them; I hope we will receive it. [end recording]

Jeszenszky Queried on Ties With Soviet Union

LD0208204590 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] The members of the National Assembly's Foreign Affairs Committee today reproached Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky, who was present at their session. Committee members complained that they do not get regular briefings on foreign political issues, and that the ministry does not ask for their opinion about important questions. The foreign minister stated that he does indeed need their cooperation and regular consultations. Andras Detany asked Geza Jeszenszky about another important issue.

[Begin recording] [Detany] With whom, or with which forces, does Hungarian diplomacy wish to create stronger ties in the Soviet Union? With the central power, or the republics, or the opposition which is forming there?

[Jeszenszky] In the hope that the Soviet Union, too, is moving in the direction of a pluralist society and a pluralist political life—and there are numerous signs of this—naturally Hungarian foreign policy also strives to maintain contact with every authoritative factor. This has to be taken into consideration or may have to be in the future. It is definitely the task of Hungarian foreign policy to prepare, if I may put it this way, for every possibility and eventuality. At the same time, we believe that, in connection with the Soviet Union, it is in the Hungarian national interest to have every change needed there proceed in a sober way. The changes should take place without great confusion or upheaval; this is how the Soviet Union can be maintained as a trading partner, as a buyer, and also as a supplier. We have great need for both. [end recording]

Jeszenszky Comments on Foreign Policy Issues

LD0208213190 Budapest MTI in English 1927 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] Warsaw, Madrid, August 2 (MTI)—We would like to be a part of a common Europe in which capital, ideas and labour can flow freely, said Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky, in an interview given to the Polish weekly 'POLITYKA'.

Mr Jeszenszky said the aim of the new Hungarian Government is to attain that Hungary re-join West Europe, to which it belonged to both in the cultural and economic field, until its bonds were severed in 1945. Naturally, this does not mean the cancelling of Eastern relations, merely of making the formally friendly relations into genuine friendships, and equality based on the sovereignty of Hungary.

Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia should first join West Europe, and they can set up their economic subgroup, perhaps similarly to the Benelux states, only after that, Mr Jeszenszky said.

We strive for good-neighbourly relations with the Soviet Union, he continued, irrespective of what will happen there in the future, as it is in our interest to cooperate with this power that is stronger both economically and militarily than we are. However, this can only take place when Hungary has attained full sovereignty, in other words, when the last Soviet soldier has left its territory.

Regarding the withdrawal from the Warsaw Treaty, Mr Jeszenszky said: "We are aware that the issue of our withdrawal is linked to the problem of the security system of all Europe. The Soviet Union cannot be isolated, the fundamental principles of European security acceptable also for the Soviet Union should be worked out," he said in the interview. Mr Jeszenszky reiterated this in the interview with the Madrid weekly 'TIEMPO'.

In the interview with the Spanish weekly, Mr Jeszenszky discussed the Soviet compensation claim that has come up in connection with the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary: "We could also present a bill for damage caused to the environment, or for the destruction caused in 1956." Mr Jeszenszky voiced his personal opinion, under which it would be best for both sides to write off the claims, and to begin the re-organization of relations on new economic bases.

Regarding the Hungarian-Romanian relations, the foreign minister said in the interview with 'TIEMPO' that relations are bad with Bucharest, and they might possibly get even worse. The Hungarian minority in Romania does not ask for prerogatives for itself. According to the Hungarian view, the Romanian Government should observe its earlier promises.

Long-Term Bonds Floated on Eurodollar Market

LD0208220890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] For the first time Hungary has issued long-term fixed interest bonds with a World Bank guarantee on the Eurodollar market, where only the best creditors can receive loans. The $200 million worth of bonds are expected to be bought by French, German, Japanese, and British investors. The proceeds will be used for financing various World Bank programs; for instance, developing transport and speeding up the transformation of the industrial structure.

Keresztes: Nuclear Plant Construction Halted

AU0208192290 Vienna KURIER in German 2 Aug 90 p 2

[N. Glattauer and K.M. Mayer report: "Hungary Stops Expansion of Nuclear Power Plants!"]

[Excerpt] Sensational change of neighboring Hungary's nuclear policy! As new Environment Minister Sandor Keresztes told [Vienna] KURIER on Tuesday [31 July], Hungary has decided to stop the expansion of nuclear power plants for the time being. Existing plans for two new reactors—which were planned to be operated by France—will be put on hold until 1996. Thus, only the

nuclear power plant in Paks, in the southern part of the country, remains in operation in Hungary. Its four reactors of the WWER 440, V213 type are a slightly improved version of the Bohunice type V230.

Minister Keresztes, who is paying a brief visit to Vienna, told KURIER: "Hungary understands Austria's concern about the Bohunice nuclear plant in particular and about the use of nuclear energy in general. We, too, are afraid, because we know that nuclear power is unsafe and that its dangers cannot be predicted." Therefore, the government in Budapest has decided to work out alternative energies; help from Austria is indispensable for this. In particular, the consistent exchange of research results is necessary.

Austrian Environment Minister Flemming, who visited the disputed Slovene nuclear power plant in Krsko on Wednesday [1 August], commented on Hungary's attitude before her departure: "This is a great, pleasant surprise for me." She will now urge the establishment of a special energy commission, consisting of Hungarians, Czechoslovaks, and Austrians. She would be able to allocate 7 million schillings from her budget to this. Said Flemming: "Together we are strongly against the nuclear lobby." [passage omitted]

Interest Coordination Council Sets Minimum Wage

LD0108223690 Budapest MTI in English 2033 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Text] Budapest, August 1 (MTI)—Representatives of the employees and employers in the National Interest Coordination Council have agreed that the minimum wage be set at 5,600 forints. Representatives of the government requested a 48-hour adjournment for the final approval of the agreement.

Representatives of the employees proved that, calculating with a 30 per cent rate of inflation, the social minimum is 6,150 forints. (incidentally, more than 1,200,000 people are paid monthly wages of under 5,700 forints, for an eight-hour workday.)

The four-month costs of raising the minimum wage to 5,600 forints for this year will total 1,600 million, 1,000 million, and 500 million forints, respectively, for companies, agriculture and the budget.

Foreign Ministry Statement on Iraq, Kuwait

LD0208205590 Warsaw PAP in English 1905 GMT 2 Aug 90

["Foreign Ministry Statement on Iraqi-Kuwaiti Conflict (Abriged)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 2—Following are excerpts from a statement by the spokesman for the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued in connection with the Iraqi-Kuwaiti conflict:

"The Ministry of Foreign Affairs received with the highest concern the information that the state of tension between Iraq and Kuwait continuing for some time now has turned into a military conflict. This opens up a new, serious source of tension in the sore region on the Persian Gulf.

"The Republic of Poland invariably maintains the stance that international problems should be solved without use of force, in tune with international law standards, including the United Nations Charter.

"Poland firmly comes out for full respect for the sovereignty of Kuwait and for the settlement of disputable problems between both states with political means. Our particular concern about a peaceful solution of the conflict is also due to the presence of several thousand Poles in Iraq and Kuwait and to the friendly relations and cooperation linking Poland with both states, which we want to continue and develop," the statement reads.

In connection with the situation in Kuwait, the Iraqi ambassador to Poland was summoned today to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Following the meeting, head of the department for Africa, Asia, Australia and Oceania in the Foreign Ministry, Andrzej Majkowski, told newsmen:

"In connection with the Iraqi-Kuwaiti conflict, Iraq's ambassador was summoned to the Foreign Ministry in order to officially present the stand of the government of that country. The ambassador said that the Provisional Government of Free Kuwait had been set up in that country and officially asked the Iraqi Government for assistance in taking over power.

"He also said that the new government controls the situation in the country and that generally it had taken place without military actions," Majkowski stated.

"Over 900 Poles are employed on various contracts in Kuwait," Majkowski continued. "The reports we were receiving throughout the day indicate that the Poles stay in their quarters and, according to the Polish Embassy, are safe."

"Only one employee of the 'Polimex-Cekop' firm, Mr Ciaston was wounded but his life is in no danger. He had a minor operation and is at home now," Majkowski said.

Asked about Poland's stand on the conflict, director Majkowski said:

"We express concern about the situation as the conflict initiates new tension in the very sore region of the Persian Gulf. Our stand is that all international problems should be solved without use of force.

"Poland comes out for respect for the sovereignty of Kuwait and the settlement of the problem by both states by political means," he stated.

"The charge d'affaires of the Polish Embassy in Kuwait said," Majkowski continued, "that when he was touring the city at midday the palace of the Kuwaiti emir was surrounded by Kuwaiti troops. This is not quite clear. We receive contradictory information."

After the meeting in the Foreign Ministry, Iraq's Ambassador Mohammed F.H. al-Haboubi told newsmen:

"To be true this is a Kuwaiti affair. The Free Government of Kuwait was formed by Kuwaiti people and asked us for assistance. We are ready to give this assistance to them.

"It is hard to say how long Iraqi troops will stay in Kuwait. They may stay a few days or a few weeks, until the situation gets stable and as long as the Free Government of Kuwait needs us," the ambassador stated.

Asked about Iraq's stance on the calling of a special session of the U.N. Security Council, the ambassador said:

"The Security Council will certainly pass its resolution and Iraq will take a stand on it."

Skubiszewski on Relations With USSR, Germany

LD0208212590 Warsaw PAP in English 1957 GMT 2 Aug 90

[By PAP Correspondent Mariusz Kuklinski]

[Text] London, Aug. 2—THE WORLD TODAY, a British monthly published by the Royal Institute of International Affairs, carried in its August-September issue an extensive article by Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski headlined "Change Versus Stability in Europe—Polish Viewpoint".

The foreign minister stated in the article that "our aim is European cooperation and European unity (...) and very close cooperation with our two neighbours, Germany and the Soviet Union."

Skubiszewski proposed to sign a new treaty "on principles governing European relations within the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, this to include the United States and Canada as well."

According to the minister, work on this treaty should begin during the forthcoming CSCE summit meeting in Autumn.

"There is also the possibility of turning into treaties some other portions of the Helsinki Act," the minister wrote.

He also hoped that the Helsinki process will include a 36th state—Albania.

In an extensive part of the article dealing with the Polish-German border, Minister Skubiszewski received with satisfaction resolutions confirming the frontier on the Odra and Nysa Rivers [Oder-Neisse] adopted by both German parliaments as they create a very good climate.

He stated however that "resolutions are not law. (...) We need treaty regulations which will then be transformed into domestic law, in order to eliminate everything from that law which contradicts the frontier."

"Confirmation of the western border of Poland (...) is not a parochial but a European problem," Minister Skubiszewski wrote in his article.

'Challenge,' 'New Opportunity' in German Ties

PM0208133890 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 30 Jun 90 p 5

[Adam Krzeminski article: "Close to the Center of Europe: Poles and Germans"]

[Text] We now have what we wanted: a definitive recognition of our western border by the Bundestag and the Volkskammer. Both parliaments passed the identical declaration with a majority vote. Chancellor Kohl delivered a fine speech in which he spoke of the need for good-neighborly relations with Poland, of the will to achieve reconciliation, of the pain associated with the loss of the old eastern territories, of Nazi crimes, of the expulsion of Germans, but also of the old traditions of cooperation between Polish and German democrats back in the 19th century.

This is a very important step forward as a declaration of intent before the future treaty with Poland. True, Polish lawyers claim that such a treaty could be signed right now, since the GDR is to be joined to the FRG on the basis of Article 23 of the Basic Law, which means that after unification the FRG will retain its legal identity.

This is not altogether correct. After all, prior to the signing of the treaty, the FRG's Constitution must be altered—especially its preamble and certain articles within the Constitution. It is true that negotiations with the Germans over particular points concerning certain legal questions, nationality, ownership rights, and so on, would be easier for us today, before unification. After unification, time will not be on our side. However, we should not interpret this as another reason to get stuck in the traditional ruts of universal mistrust and suspicion.

It is our move, in Polish-German relations.

It is up to Poland to undergo an internal reform now, as the weaker and economically devastated country with unsteady political and social structures. It is we who face the enormous task of modernizing our system. And we will not take a single step without help from our Western neighbors—indeed, from the whole of West Europe. We must forge a new attitude to the Germans within ourselves: a new attitude without servility, without the arrogance of the perpetually weaker partner, without claiming a seat for ourselves in the German chariot, but also without falling prey to anti-German phobias. We have adversaries in Germany, but we also have friends there—just as in all real life situations. If we do not want the border along the Odra and Nysa [Oder-Neisse] to become a deep gulf separating us from them in the civilizational, technological, psychological, and cultural sense, we must do all we can to make it a permeable border. The Germans want this, too. We must accept that they will be increasingly present among us and also that our presence among them should not be as semi-beggars and peddlers.

Living as neighbors has never been easy for us and will not be easy now, but there is no need to see it only from the perspective of our historical fears and broken treaties. True, in the past we signed "perpetual peace treaties" and nonaggression pacts both with the Russians and with the Germans, and they all turned out to be worthless. All the same, after each new calamity we must build up new neighborly relations, based not on even the best-justified neuroses and apprehensions, but on a realistic potential, a genuine will to cooperate, and the past tradition of cooperation. After all, that tradition also goes back entire centuries.

The Germans have always been our neighbors and will remain so. Soon an 80 million-strong German state will lie across the Odra River, as Guenther Grass said in his interview in last week's POLITYKA.

It is a challenge and also a new opportunity which demands that we free ourselves from many of our "Polish and arch-Polish" faults, anachronistic behavior traits, and phobias. There is no reason to feel euphoric, but neither is there reason to succumb to grim despair. On the other hand, there is every reason to make a new effort, practice self-discipline, and embark on a journey of discovery in Europe—whose center is beginning to assume the colors of the German republic.

Soviet Environmental Damage Compensation Viewed

AU0208124390 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 31 Jul 90 p 1

[Dariusz Fedor report: "Russian Service, Polish Law"]

[Text] The Soviet forces in Poland are not to receive special legal protection. It is not known whether they will pay for environmental pollution, but Soviet air pirates will be punished.

The Polish Government has rejected the groundless calls for special legal protection for USSR citizens temporarily in Poland.

A meeting between the Polish and Soviet Government leaders for the temporary deployment of Soviet forces in Poland decided on 18 and 19 July that 70 empty apartments belonging to the Soviet garrison in Legnica, and occupied by Polish citizens, will not be returned to their owner.

It is not yet known whether or not the Russians will pay for environmental damage in accordance with the Polish legislation that came into effect in 1980, and if so, how much they will pay. The Soviet side said it would pass on this matter "for further consideration by the USSR Ministry of National Defense."

In the meantime, it was decided that the Russians will complete the construction of sewage treatment facilities at airfields and inside bases, which was interrupted on instructions from the USSR minister of national defense at the beginning of the year. In addition, the Soviet side was obligated to remove, at their own expense, spillages of oil-derived substances near the village of Stara Koperania, close to the Zagan airfield.

The Soviet Army will either pay for the destruction of 35,000 hectares of forest leased to it, or "work for and settle" all overdue payments by 30 November. Twice a year, four Soviet exercise grounds are to be made accessible for sanitary checks and economic activity. Foresters will be issued with special passes so they may check the fire precautions and investigate the degree of damage.

Soviet pilots and their commanders will be obliged to fully respect the rules in force while in Polish air space, on pain of punishment. Unauthorized aerial sorties and flights that deviate from approved flight plans will no longer be tolerated. They constitute the greatest danger to Polish civil aviation.

"We should force any Soviet pilot who contravenes the regulations to land, but distances in Poland are too small for this. Nevertheless, we will see to it that air pirates are punished after the event," said General Mieczyslaw Debciki, the Polish Government plenipotentiary for the stay of the Soviet Army in Poland, on 30 July.

Reports and information submitted to the Polish Air Force Command are to be written in the Roman alphabet.

Emergency rules governing the handover to Poland of military facilities built at Soviet expense were also decided, pending the conclusion of a new international agreement.

New Border Crossings With USSR To Open

LD0208194890 Warsaw PAP in English 1741 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 2—The Polish Foreign Affairs Ministry has announced that limitations on travel of Soviet abroad are of an internal nature.

This stems from the fact that Soviet ID's used to cross borders have lost their validity. Polish citizens cross the border on to date principles.

On the Polish side of the border at crossings in Ogrodiniki, Kuznica Bialostocka and Terespol passport and customs procedures are being handled on time and there are no queues. On the other hand, people have to wait some 20 hours to cross the border from the Soviet side.

The deputy chief of the State Office of Customs Control of the USSR Valeriy Draganov has made assurances that troublesome bottlenecks on the border with Poland would be eliminated within two weeks, according to the president of the Polish Main Customs Office Tomasz Bartoszewicz who returned from Moscow.

Bartoszewicz confirmed reports that five new border crossings would be opened with the Soviet Union this year.

"The second issue which we have resolved is a confirmation in the form of an inter-governmental agreement of the use of customs breaks for Poles working in or paying business trips to the Soviet Union till the end of the year. They will be able to bring home customs-free goods from the Soviet Union worth a half of the legally earned rubles," the Polish official said.

Many other joint undertakings were also arranged such as an attempt to introduce a common transit system through the Soviet Union and Poland.

GDR Mayor's Border Restrictions Criticized

LD0208211390 Warsaw PAP in English 1954 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] Gorzow WLKP., Berlin, Aug. 2—The decision of the mayor of Frankfurt-on-Oder restricting traffic on the border crossing in Slubice, Gorzow voivodship, was unilateral and was not consulted with us, Gorzow's voidvode Krzysztof Zareba told PAP.

The voivode said that the Gorzow authorities had obtained a communique to this effect which had been conveyed to them during a visit by a delegation of the Frankfurt-on-Oder district earlier last month.

"On our part we have long been seeking an improvement in the conditions of crossing the border, among other things, though opening a new crossing in nearby Kostrzyn," Zareba said.

In an answer to Polish inquiries GDR's authorities said that the decision had been arbitrary and illegal. Despite their pledge that the normal work of the crossing would be restored, till 10 A.M. today two boards informing about the restrictions introduced yesterday were still there while traffic and road police functionaries watched that only cars with local registrations be let through.

Jaruzelski Sends Greeting to Bulgaria's Zhelev

LD0208185390 Warsaw PAP in English 1457 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 2—Polish President Wojciech Jaruzelski sent a congratulatory cable to Zhelio Zhelev in connection with the latter's election to the office of Bulgaria's president.

New Private Telecommunications Network Set Up

AU0208195090 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 31 Jul 90 p 3

["J.M"-signed report: "Super Business Telephone"]

[Text] Telecommunications problems suffered by international businessmen in Warsaw will soon end. The "Komertel" international telephone exchange is to become operational this August, together with a telecommunications network independent of the existing one, with room for 2,000 subscribers.

"Komertel" users will have access to four great international exchanges—in Frankfurt, London, Pittsburgh, and the "Intelsat" exchange. That means that the United States, Canada, South America, Japan, Australia, and many other countries will be available through direct dialling.

The connection charge is expected to be 10 million zlotys, plus technical costs. The monthly subscription is to be 500,000 zlotys. One can expect to be connected to "Komertel" one month after applying.

Polish-Greek Joint TV Venture Established

LD0208203290 Warsaw PAP in English 1802 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] Katowice, Aug 2—Katowice Provincial Governor Wojciech Czech and Katowice TV Director Wojciech Sarnowicz signed a letter of intention on the formation of a joint venture "Upper Silesian Regional TV" with Athens-based Intestra Co. Chairman Minas X. Kyriakou.

The latter wants to help Polish mass media operate in the conditions of pluralism and is of the opinion that only private TV guarantees progress and high quality.

Kolodziejczyk Expounds on Military Perspectives

AU0208182690 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 31 Jul 90 p 2

[Interview with Vice Admiral Piotr Kolodziejczyk, minister of national defense, by Irena Scholl; place and date not given: "The Army Does Not Want To Go to War"]

[Text] [Scholl] You support the idea of a strong Army? Whom would such an Army be directed against?

[Kolodziejczyk] Yes, I am in favor of a strong Army, because I think that that is exactly what Poland needs. However, I must add that it should be an Army that is maintained within the limits of essential defense sufficiency. At this point, we find ourselves touching on the question of state foreign policy, which—as we know—is not the domain of the military. A state's defense system stems from political strategy. So, in order to be able to define what a strong Army means in our situation, we have to know how it will ensure security. Will it do so independently or within an alliance framework. If so, then within what kind of alliance?

If we proceed from the worst possible scenario, that we have no allies around us, then we have to prepare defense by less direct means—that is, prepare to expand the Army and allocate huge sums of money for that. Under the most optimistic scenario, new friends will join our old friends, an efficient collective security system will operate in Europe and the rest of the world—it will be possible to make do without an Army—and regional, police-type forces will be sufficient for ensuring internal security.

[Scholl] For the time being, neither of the two extreme scenarios is relevant. What is your view of medium-term prospects?

[Kolodziejczyk] I leave that up to the politicians who face a very difficult task today. There are still profoundly radical changes underway in East and Central Europe. So, the question is with whom should alliances be formed and on what terms? What border guarantees should there be? What kind of forces should we ourselves train? We in the military would like to know the answers to the questions soon. However, I doubt whether it will be possible to formulate an answer in the near future.

[Scholl] Germany is uniting....

[Kolodziejczyk, interrupting] ...which, despite numerous assurances that there is nothing to be afraid of, arouses anxiety among the Poles. We know that the Germans are different today. However, it is difficult to discard historical experience, and that experience urges caution. We also do not know what will happen in the East. The Soviet Union was the guarantor of our security for over 40 years—will it continue to be that? What will happen if violent unrest erupts on the other side of our eastern border? What will happen if separate states come into being? So, we are dealing with a lot of unknowns here.

[Scholl] Nevertheless, the changing nature of the present situation and the uncertainty cannot...cause us to disarm?

[Kolodziejczyk] The organization of the Armed Forces should, as I have said, be subordinated to the principle of essential defense sufficiency. Poland does not intend to go to war against anyone, that is a basic axiom today. However, we want to and must have Armed Forces that would make it not worthwhile for anyone to attack our country.

[Scholl] Which means?

[Kolodziejczyk] We will take account of the international factors mentioned above, while continuing to restructure the Armed Forces. In a nutshell, we will seek to reduce the numerical size of the Army, while strengthening it on the technical side. The symbol of the modern Army cannot be a soldier carrying a rifle, but a well-trained science graduate who has up-to-date equipment at his disposal.

[Scholl] That costs money. However, there has been a lot of fierce criticism of the amount spent on defense over the past few years.

[Kolodziejczyk] The wave of criticism is subsiding because—my impression is—a commonsense approach, stemming from an assessment of the changes in the international situation, is beginning to make itself felt. In addition, it has turned out that our military expenditure is not excessive, but actually very low. At the moment, the military has what we call a "survival budget." If it were to continue to be maintained at its present level that would be dangerous. In light of our difficult economic situation, we pin great hopes on an improvement in the European political climate and the possibility of a new collective security system.

[Scholl] We have been proceeding in that direction for years....

[Kolodziejczyk] And it has borne fruit. Poland was and is very active, but it involves constant, laborious work. A good path leading to the construction of a collective security system in Europe would be, among other things, symmetrical reductions of Armed Forces. It would also be aided by greater confidence in the military sphere, more extensive East-West contacts, and the removal of the remnants of ideological obstinacy.

[Scholl] The average citizen, who has been brought up with the idea of "military secrecy," is surprised to see mutual visits by military representatives who were once taught to feel mutual hostility. The East pays visits to the West and vice versa. Military facilities that were strictly close are being opened up....

[Kolodziejczyk] Military secrecy has not disappeared. The difference is that it no longer applies to the stationing of units, the number of hospital beds, or rifle calibers. It covers a narrow range of specialist fields, at the highest levels of military technology.

Personal contacts between representatives of the military, opportunities to get to know each other and to exchange views promotes understanding, confidence-building and serves to "remove the spell" of what grew up in the period of ideological war.

[Scholl] Thank you.

Maturing Political Consciousness Viewed

AU0208104290 Warsaw PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI in Polish 29 Jul 90 p 5

["P.W."-signed commentary: "Some More About the President"]

[Text] Our democracy is still riddled with petty ambitions, improvisation, feuds, and selfishness. However, one can already detect the first signs of a blessed, but slow-working filter of public opinion. People can still show themselves to be gullible fools, idiots, and dupes, many times over, but there will come a time when they will say: Enough is enough! You no longer have our votes, and we refuse to listen to you! Windbags, drunks, and demagogy still flourish, but the end is already in sight. There are increasing numbers of people who have become politically aware, who have put their minds on critical alert, and who now listen critically and compare. In a lot of townships many people from the old regime, or their supporters, or other worthless windbags, have been elected. The electors will feel the burden of their choice on their own shoulders. It will cost them, but next time they will be more careful. Democracy is a difficult training ground, and one gets put in the dunce's corner if one does stupid things. The reform program is really squeezing people, but they have faith in Balcerowicz because he does not waste words, does not make any speeches, and gives it to them as it is.

The overwhelming majority of Poles love, admire, and value Walesa. They wish him well. For every 100 Poles, 20 would support him as a candidate for the presidency, but 60 would vote against him. This is a manifestation of an astounding political astuteness. Fat cat Lech, with his graying mustache, piercing look, and incoherent ramblings that hide a brilliant mind, is not seen as a suitable candidate for president. He does not even have to be the chairman. He is simply himself, the shipyard, "Solidarity," and a legend. He still represents hope.

At present, we have two presidents, one in Warsaw, the other in London. We need a wise and delicately handled political game to emerge cleanly from this absurd historical legacy. It will also take time. Above all else, we need time. Cicero once said: "We shall remain free for as long as we remain the servants of the law." It is unwise to ask—"who?"—before the law has said—"when." When the law finally settles on a time, we shall then make our choice. We shall choose carefully and responsibly, mindful of the dunce's corner in the classroom of history.

Peasant Party Assesses Political Situation

LD0208183390 Warsaw PAP in English 1456 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 2—The chief executive committee of the Polish Peasant party held a session under the chairmanship of Roman Bartoszcze to assess the country's political and economic situation.

It examined the state of preparations for publishing the party's draft programme and decided to convene a related conference late September.

In connection with the coming 70th anniversary of the victorious battle against Bolshevik forces in the vicinity of Warsaw, observed this month, the committee adopted an appeal to Polish peasants.

Central celebrations of the peasant effort holiday will be staged in Tarnow, southern Poland, on August 12.

Government Calls for 'End to Hostilities' in Gulf

AU0208133490 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1300 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] The ROMPRES agency received the following statement from the Romanian Government on events in the Gulf:

Romania's Government has noted with concern the outbreak of the armed conflict between Iraq and Kuwait, countries lying in an area that has experienced war, confrontation, and tensions for a long period of time. No reason can justify force against an independent and sovereign state. The UN Charter and the universally accepted principles of international law forbid the use of force as means of solving conflicts among states.

The invasion of Kuwait by Iraqi forces, in violation of the universally valid principles of international law, aggravates the situation in the area, jeopardizes international peace and security, and causes loss of human life and suffering for the peoples of the two countries.

The Romanian Government considers that the only way to solve differences and settle misunderstandings among states is the path of negotiations and the procedures stipulated by the UN Charter.

The Romanian Government calls for an end to hostilities and the withdrawal without delay of military forces behind the international borders between the two states.

In conclusion, the Romanian Government stated that in these circumstances all states should show a spirit of moderation and responsibility and should refrain from further aggravating the situation.

Iliescu Congratulates Bulgaria's New President

AU0308102490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0825 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 3/8/1990—President Ion Iliescu of Romania sent a telegram to Zhelyu Zhelev who was elected president of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. "I trust that, in the changed political conditions in our countries, we will manage to develop friendship between the Romanian and Bulgarian peoples through cooperation in various areas of mutual interest, the telegram says. [no closing quotation marks as received]

Foreign Ministry Spokesman Holds News Conference

AU0208173190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1627 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 2/8/1990—In connection with the Iraqi troops' penetration in Kuwait, the new spokesman of the Romanian Foreign Affairs Ministry expressed the hope that reason would triumph and that the incident would not gain scope being solved by diplomatic means.

Speaking at his first news conference which resumes the dialogue of the Foreign Affairs Ministry with mass media representatives, Ambassador Traian Chebeleu assessed as positive the understandings reached with the Hungarian side in the wake of the talks conducted in Budapest by Romulus Neagu, secretary of state at the Foreign Ministry (member of the government).

In connection with the negotiations in Geneva, chaired by Romania starting 1 August, the ambassador specified that the Romanian delegation tabled a document showing that Romania did not possess, produce and intend to manufacture chemical weapons.

In his opinion, the situation in Cyprus can be solved only by means of direct negotiations between the two communities on the island, with the United Nations, Greece and Turkey playing an important role in that respect.

Approaching the question of cultural relations, the ambassador assessed them as a priority of the Romanian diplomacy. The new programme of cultural relations, a domain abandoned by the former regime, pursues to bring Romania back to the dialogue of culture, the ambassador showed who further made the following points: new agreements have been signed with West Germany and Yugoslavia, another 18 being under preparation. The existing cultural establishments in Rome, Paris and New York have been joined by others in West Germany, the Soviet Union and Hungary, similar institutions having to be opened in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Spain and Austria.

Student Leader Marian Munteanu Released

AU0208192790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1829 GMT 2 Aug 90

["Marian Munteanu Released"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 2/8/1990—Romania's prosecutor general decided to countermand the measure by which Marian Munteanu had been held in custody and to release him.

In a communique issued on Thursday evening Prosecutor General Gheorghe Robu motivates his decision through the fact that the conditions that led to the holding in custody of Marian Munteanu, one of the animators of the marathon demonstration in the University Square, elected in his absence leader of the League of Students of the University of Bucharest no longer exist, there being no reason to consider that the release of the defendant would endanger public order.

The communique specifies, quoting an article of the code of legal procedure, that the measure of holding somebody in custody can be taken when an offence punished by the law with a more than two-year imprisonment term is committed and leaving the defendant free endangers public order. In this case, the offences for which an inquiry was started against defendant Marian Munteanu entail a more than two-year imprisonment

term and leaving him free was dangerous in the context of the grave social insecurity caused by the events of 13-15 June.

The warrant for the arrest of Marian Munteanu was executed on 18 June 1990 the defendant being transferred from the Emergency Hospital to the hospital of the Jilava prison, the communique further reads specifying:

Several clinical medical tests—x-ray, ophthalmological, tomographic—were conducted at the hospital of the Jilava prison, the orthopedic clinic of the "Foisor" hospital, the Bucharest Legal Medicine Institute and the "Gheorghe Marinescu" hospital to check the health condition of the defendant.

While in the Jilava prison the defendant was called on by members of his family, by his lawyer, by the International Red Cross, the League for Human Rights of France and Romania, by a French parliamentary delegation and representatives of other institutions.

The presence was ensured of the defendant's lawyer during hearings and confrontations with other persons when evidence was requested the presentation of which presupposes a prolongation of the inquiry.

Iliescu Denies Pursuing 'Neocommunism'

AU0208100190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0815 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 2/8/1990—I will say again what I told others after the December revolution. We have broken completely with the totalitarian practice and communist ideology, not only in words but also in deeds, said President Iliescu of Romania in an interview, Tuesday 31 July, with the director of the Romanian-language "UNIVERSUL" of Los Angeles, Aristide Buhoiu. I may say that the social experience of the past decades made us take that attitude to the previous system. Obvious facts. All ideologies that generated totalitarian practice based on abstract, prefabricated models of hypothetic human happiness were and are doomed to failure in the absence of democracy and individual freedom. And I don't think that communism can be reformed, changed to "humanist communism" or "communism with a human face" as you call it using a now-common formula. As far as I am concerned, the president said, the dissociation is unambiguous, and it started back in 1971 when also as a result of the known experience, of the open conflict with the totalitarian regime I realised the failure of communism as an ideology. Therefore, the "obsession" you are speaking of lacks a real basis, if it is at all. I did not pursue and I cannot pursue as some "well-meaning" people accuse me of to create "neocommunism" in Romania.

What we really want I refer to the authorities elected on 20 May is to take the country out of the deep crisis it is in, and firmly set it on the path to progress, to democracy. If, related to that, one can speak of ideology, then our ideology is that of "political realism." In other words, we do not set out from abstract, prefabricated, bankrupt models, but from the complex realities and problems of the country, in close interdependence with the trend in contemporary developments which we take into account and try to use to advantage. This appears to me the only efficient ideology that holds at the present time. I think that only in this way can we achieve what we wish for ourselves: A normal, democratic development of the country, real economic progress not propaganda on the basis of today's revolution in technology which gives everywhere in the world a characteristic, distinctive note to contemporary social development as a whole. I would like to remind you in that respect that we are particularly concerned to correlate economic progress with a wide-ranging social programme which protects the interests of broad segments of the population. This means that we are simultaneously after two very important things, true basic elements of the theory and strategy of contemporary development: One is to put in place the most efficient market economy which can set the national economy on a healthy foundation and ensure its future dynamism, and another is to ensure social protection.

Of course, these aims go beyond the ideology of one party or another: They are strategic elements of national significance. And, in my capacity as "president of all Romanians" I think they can stimulate, have an impact on human creativity in all its aspects, ensure the necessary cooperation and balance in social life.

If like you and like most other Romanians, I was somehow a prisoner of the totalitarian regime, I tried to the best of my abilities never to be a prisoner in private life, emotionally, morally and politically, said the president in answer to another question. Since the "dissociation" we were speaking about, which began as early as 1971, I always upheld my beliefs and my options. No, I was not afraid lest Ceausescu could get wind of them. After all, what should I have been afraid of? Had my position not been known since 1971 when I was charged with having given the youth an "intellectualist" orientation, among other things?

Today, I am sure that the youth, who set a magnificent example of heroism in December, will make its contribution, along with other segments of the population in all age brackets, to the real economic progress of the country, to secure its entrance into the next century and millennium in dignity.

I did not meet Gorbachev before June, at the latest Warsaw Treaty summit meeting. All that was said before were just fables. Rumors about our common studentship caught my ears at the time when I was under close surveillance (need I say by whom?). I cannot say who spread them or why, said the president in answer to a question on his alleged relationship with Mikhail Gorbachev.

In answer to the question: Is it true that the terrorists who "vanished" after the revolution would have gone abroad, the president said:

Terrorists continue to be a very unclear problem, indeed. It is so not because of ill faith or for other reasons, but simply because we do not have yet the information to solve it. I, for instance, would also like to know who was shooting in the early days of the revolution when we were at the television. Clearly, also the office we were in on the 12th floor was shot at. Traces of the bullets that got into the metal windowsill can be seen to this day. So, terrorists, the people who went by that name, were no fabrication, they were not imaginary. As a rule they are identified as Securitate people. They may have been security people, but they may have been other people as well. This hypothetic formulation shows that we are not yet in a position to say who they were. Anyhow, the television, the National Defence Ministry, where I stayed for five days, were under constant fire from the neighbouring buildings. At that time the Prosecutor's Office had not started work, the police was in disarray, the Army was not prepared for such action: After a summary analysis the people who had detained the alleged terrorists assumed that the charges against them were groundless, and set them free. Did they do it out of complicity, or for lack of evidence? Who could supply a valid answer today?

There are people in custody under such charges, some of them were brought in court, others are under investigation. More than 1,200 cases related to the December events are being investigated by the Prosecutor's Office. In connection with sharpshooters, who were the mainstay of the Bucharest action, there is not much that we know of now. This is another mystery that we must solve. That being so, what could I tell you in connection with the alleged departure of the terrorists across the border? I would be glad if you or anyone else could bring arguments to the effect.

Unfortunately, many of those who raise such still unclear matters do not or will not realize the position we were in during those days and make speculations that discredit the current political leadership. There are people who had nothing to do with the then dramatic events, who risked nothing on those days but who question the loyalty and good faith of those who were in the heat of the battle and even risked their lives. In the end, the people who took a direct part in the events are most interested in finding out the whole truth. There are far simpler situations, political assassinations like that of Olof Palme, for instance that cannot be solved yet although they happened years ago.

I don't think there is any obstacle to organise the reunion you hinted at, or for ex-King Michael's attendance, said the president in reply to a question on whether the high-school graduates of 1940 of which ex-King Michael is one could meet in Bucharest in autumn. After all, we always said that the former monarch could come any time to this country as a private person. The controversy over the planned visit in spring arose from the known motives, which added a marked political tinge to the trip. Our new constitutional and institutional framework will hopefully spare us such problems, the scope of which we cannot always assess with precision. Anyhow, a visit of ex-King Michael for the purpose you mentioned can be made.

We hope that the causes and circumstances that generated and stimulated the dramatic events of 13-15 June will be fully clarified by the legal inquiry and the Parliamentary Inquiry Commission, said the president in answer to a question on those events. Why not sooner? One should not forget that we were in the post-electoral period when parliament had just started its activity. There are also objective problems, to prepare the cases, collect the evidence, the testimonies.

At any rate, I would like to stress that the events on 14 and 15 June should not be severed as they often were with obvious ill faith from those on 13 June, which were at the origin of everything. Because, this is all that it amounts to: A cause-to-effect relationship, even if the reaction also resulted in excesses—definitely regrettable. The way of action, the violence, and fanaticism shown by people against vital state institutions on 13 June were to my generation and the elderly a reminder of the legionary [Iron Guard] rebellion of 1941. In fact, specific material evidence did not lack: Clothes, insignia and badges of fascist inspiration.

Therefore, it was not the miners who were at the origin of violence in the capital city. Obviously the actions on 13 June the true cause of what followed were part of a broader spectrum of such planned actions with the clear intention of destabilizing the country politically. It had happened on 12 and on 28 January, and on 18 February, it had happened during the election campaign and after the elections, that is after the electorate, the people had made their option clear, and parliament had started to work.

I hope that, in the end, all will be clear because the game is far bigger and in it both internal and external forces are involved, there is no doubt about that. This is a well-planned professional scenario the range of which is far-reaching and whose implications go deep.

Therefore, while deploring certain excesses on 14 and 15 June, we must not forget the real causes of the events.

Charges against the miners' arrival in Bucharest could frequently be heard. Why did they come? Simply because people were concerned for what they saw on television, for the violence and the free rein given to instincts that they could watch. Then, many residents of Bucharest and the neighbouring cities (one of the fatalities was a worker from Ploiesti who was stabbed in the television courtyard) came to assist the order-keeping forces. Only in the morning of 14 June did miners arrive. We did not call the miners. When I appeared on television late in the evening—it had got off the air when violent elements stormed and the programme was resumed only after they were driven out of the building—the miners had already left Bucharest. Why did the order-keeping and the Armed Forces not intervene from the outset? To answer you this question I must remind you once again of the

special situation we are in, of the moral and psychological crisis so obvious in Romanian society now. After the December events, these institutions were haunted by a complex, by restraint, against any direct extensive implication, which is explainable after all, because some of their elements had been compromised.

I don't know if the miners are guilty of what you said, even though there definitely were excesses, uncalled-for violence, which we disapprove of. But, don't forget that they helped clear the University Square and restore traffic in that central part of the city.

The slogan you refer to was launched by people interested in artificially dividing our society, putting one segment of the population against others, said the president in answer to a question about the slogan "We work, we don't think." Very clearly, my wish—which actually agrees with the provisions of the electoral law—is to be a factor of mediation and balance for all the political and social forces taking part in the country's revival. I think that, beyond a wide variety of political orientations and different programmes and options—which are only natural after all—there are major demands and aims that are in the national interest and that should be a platform of action for all who wish Romanian society to advance. I refer to the basic changes that must be made in the country, in political, economic and social life.

As you may know, there were attempts to establish contacts with demonstrators in the square, said the president in reply to a question about his dialogue with the demonstrators. But we could see then that there were hardly any people we could talk to. The whole thing was so planned as to keep us under strain and to maintain a hotbed of disorder in the heart of the city in order to prove that public order forces could not ensure peace and a normal life in the city.

Actually, dialogue was turned down by the people there. The government explained everything in principle in the talks on 11 June when the strikers' only claim was an independent television station. And yet, two groups represented in the square whose avowed motive for staying in the square was solidarity with the strikers, then said that there was nothing to talk about with the government. On 12 June they even issued an ultimatum to the government demanding its resignation. I ask you this: What dialogue could have been then? Under those circumstances the unlawful action in the square had to be stopped and traffic restored to normal, which was done relatively peacefully in the morning of 13 June.

The fact that some of yesterday's dissidents, reputed intellectuals or journalists, fail to support abroad the idea of economic aid to Romania is a highly negative element of the present political moment, said the president of Romania in answer to a last question of UNIVERSUL's director. Unfortunately, this adds to the frequent misunderstanding of the difficult and complex position we are in now after we emerged from totalitarianism. I think that such inadequate action is a reflex of the psychological and moral crisis of Romanian society today, of fear, unfounded suspicion. We hope such problems can be overcome. We do hope that our option for democracy which is a deep, fundamental option and a result of the objective demands of society becomes readily apparent. As soon as this is understood, unjustified fears about the fate of democracy in Romania will be pointless. In fact, there is no other alternative. By taking action to deepen the course to democracy in our society, to basically reform the economy and strengthen the new political institutions we actually fulfill the mandate we were given in the election. The people themselves would not forgive us if we departed from that line. Externally, this means wide openness to the world, to the other European states first of all, with which we wish to cooperate starting from our common interests and aims. Which cannot be achieved, we realize this very well, unless there is internal democracy and a growing economic efficiency.

We want to establish a broader constructive dialogue also with the Romanians abroad, build more durable' permanent bridges of under standing, get more active support from the Romanian emigration, the president of Romania said in conclusion.

Call for Intellectuals To Become Involved

AU0308075690 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 22 Jul 90 p 1

[Nicu Dascalu article: "Overcoming Ambiguity"]

[Excerpts] Because the revolution, politics have been complicated by events, very often pushing them beyond limits, with serious consequences which are difficult to control. [passage omitted]

Based on rumors and subtle lies, politics have turned into an instrument for maneuvering and manipulating naive and insufficiently informed people. We are therefore at the disposal of a cadre maintained by the new rulers, Romanian society is temporarily losing the prerogatives of democracy, thus embarking on a slippery road toward totalitarianism of perhaps another nature.

With their minor and immediate interests, and shocked by the prospects of privatization and pluralism, the crowds are split and without prospects for the future.

With a large percentage of the intellectuals not involved politically, and other intellectuals indifferent and playing the role of spectators, the divisions in our society are widening. The multitude of causes, taken together, have considerably increased political instability. [passage omitted]

The sporadic and oscillating attitude of insidious neutrality and harmful expectancy of intellectuals has discouraged and weakened the opposition, somehow encouraging the usurper's power. The intellectuals have to rid themselves of ambiguity, and have to understand

that their only option is a firm attitude in support of a free and democratic society.

Securitate's Links With Terrorist Alleged

AU0208192190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1835 GMT 2 Aug 90

["Official News: Securitate's Links With 'Carlos'"]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 2/8/1990—Over 1970-1980, the former Romanian Securitate obtained information that the international terrorist Ilich Ramirez Sanchez intended to commit terrorist acts against Romania because of its diplomatic relations with Israel. He contemplated hijacking Tarom [Romanian Airlines] planes, stated a communique released in Bucharest on Thursday evening from the press office of the Ministry of the Interior.

Informed that the terrorist "Carlos" wished to talk to Romanian authorities, the leadership of the former State Security Department decided that two of their officers contact him in August 1979. On that occasion "Carlos" confirmed that he indeed was prepared to hijack Tarom aircraft and made known his intention to come to Romania ensuring that we were "independent and do not support capitalism." He considered himself the "head of a revolutionary organization pursuing the establishment of socialism throughout the world."

Under those circumstances, starting in 1980, the leadership of the former State Security Department allowed members of the terrorist organization led by "Carlos" to come to Romania for short periods of time, and in 1981 allowed him to come to Romania. They had several meetings with "Carlos" throughout the year but by June 1982 he was no longer allowed to come to Romania. It was confirmed during those meetings that attempts were made to influence "Carlos" not to undertake terrorist actions against Romania.

This is the result of initial inquiries ordered by the leadership of the Ministry of the Interior in an effort to contribute correct information to improve public opinion. The inquiries do not confirm, as one may note, foreign radio's allegations of Romanian Securitate's so-called role of intermediary between "Carlos" and terrorist organizations in the Middle East.

'Immediate Withdrawal' of Iraqi Troops Demanded

LD0208160990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1502 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Aug (TANJUG)—The official circles and the Yugoslav public are shocked and deeply concerned at the news of the armed intervention by Iraq in the territory of Kuwait. Condemning the use of force as an inadmissible method of settling disputes, especially between non-aligned countries, Yugoslavia calls for an immediate withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait and for the peaceful settlement of the dispute through negotiations - says the Yugoslav Foreign Secretariat in a statement released here on Thursday [2 August].

Proceeding from the principles of the United Nations charter and of the policy of non-alignment, as well as its own responsibility as the current chairman of the non-aligned movement, the Yugoslav Government particularly emphasizes that the act of use of force constitutes a serious breach of international peace and security at a time when all efforts in the world and in the non-aligned movement are directed at finding ways of resolving international problems through dialogue and cooperation says this statement.

As chairman of the non-aligned movement, Yugoslavia will take all measures to that the non-aligned countries together with all international factors, may take vigorous action aimed at restoring peace, assuring the respect of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the state of Kuwait and at settling this dispute solely through peaceful means.

In the interest of international peace and security, and in accordance with international law, the attainment of that goal also implies that all other international factors refrain from direct interference which could result in wider adverse developments, the statement concludes.

Slovenes in Kuwait Said Safe

AU0208141690 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1330 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Statement by Slovene Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] As one has learned in the news today, the Iraqi army has started military operations in Kuwait. In this connection I wish to inform the Slovene public that all our citizens in Kuwait are outside immediate danger and that no Slovene citizen has fallen victim during the clashes.

The latest information at our disposal says that the hostilities in Kuwait are quietening down, so that an evacuation of our other foreign nationals from Kuwait is not envisaged for the moment. Our secretariat, which is to say the republican Secretariat for International Cooperation, will keep our Slovene public informed.

Crisis Making 'Gravest' Consequences 'Realistic'

AU0208140390 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 26 Jul 90 p 1

[Vlado Mrkic commentary: "Until the Last Hope"]

[Text] The Yugoslav political crisis acquired a new dimension yesterday, and the threat of the gravest consequences, even including civil war, has become completely realistic. How else is one to interpret what happened in Zagreb and in Srb where the scenario of armed intervention was openly alluded to, and an "unarmed uprising" of the Serbs in this republic was proclaimed?

It has therefore turned out that those people were right who predicted that the problems of Serbs in Croatia will be one of those "fuses" which may bring an explosion, and on which the solution of not only the Croatian-Serbian, but also the general Yugoslav political riddle will depend. Starting from Knin and Benkovac, to Petrova Gora and the Dalmatian village of Kosovo, from preelection competitions to open conflicts, from the "assassination attempt" or assassination attempt against Tudjman to the "wounding" or wounding of Mlinar, from Glina and Petrinja to Bobota and Beli Manastir, and, more recently, from Jadovno to Jazovka, it is not difficult to gradually follow the growth of tension between Serbs in Croatia and the new republican authorities. It seems as if an indefinitely long period of time has passed from the first hidden hints last spring of the possibility of autonomy of the Serbian diaspora—when Dr. Jovan Raskovic himself was saying that Serbs are not even thinking of asking for autonomy—to the present "unarmed uprising." However, there have been only a few months, so this only confirms that events are taking place at a breakneck speed, and that this speed is destroying the hopes that "reason may overcome," as we like to put it.

Who is to blame that, in the end, all this has come down to separation, from which it will be difficult to retreat? Who was making false moves? Would the Croatian Constitution be able to exist without the Serbs in Croatia, and would the Serbs in Croatia be able to exist without the Croatian Constitution? Have there been too many "all-Serb rallies of all Serbs" held from Knin to Beli Manastir? Are the "Belgrade scenarists" of the aggravation of relations between Croats and Serbs in Croatia to be blamed, as one side claims, or is it the grown "Ustasha-like movement" in the new Croatian state, whose flag outside the Assembly, since yesterday, bears the historical Croatian coat of arms instead of socialists symbols, as the other side accuses?

What happened in the Croatian Assembly and in Srb yesterday irresistibly resembles those times not so long ago when the Serbian Constitution was adopted in Belgrade, while the resistance of the Albanian population was flaring in Kosovo. Perhaps this comparison looks exaggerated at first, but the cases are certainly not without similarity. At that time, the scenario of an armed

intervention was also mentioned—albeit on the Yugoslav level, which still existed then—as well as the possibility of an "armed uprising" on the other side. Much was done in the name of democracy at that time, too, although calls to reason were the only thing left.

Will Yugoslavia, and democracy in it, survive this most recent "scenario," too, and this most recent "uprising," or will events continue their usual course without any hope? Some ray of hope, a ray of optimism, has not completely disappeared though; even yesterday it broke through the clouds when Dr. Franjo Tudjman said that talks Croatia has held with other republics, and talks that are yet to be held, are indicating the possibility of reaching some agreement and showing what is the road that should be taken.

Croatian Serbs 'Uprising' Deemed 'Irresponsible'

AU0208133690 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 27 Jul 90 p 1

[Boris Jez "Topic of the Day" commentary: "An Irresponsible Adventure"]

[Text] The "uprising" of the Serbs living in Croatia, who on Wednesday [1 August] proclaimed not their autonomy but rather their sovereignty, has in all probability marked the beginning of that stage of the denouement of the Yugoslav drama which has been hanging over the stage as a sort of a deus ex machina, though we still hoped that it would never come about.

The will of the 100,000-strong crowd which gathered in Srb should certainly be treated with seriousness, despite the fact that the "uprising" is, first of all, an irresponsible political adventure most probably fabricated in Belgrade. Nobody expected Serbs and Croats to reach a political agreement easily, but if both diplomatic services would make a sufficient effort, they may be able to avoid such a drastic aggravation of mutual relations that may provoke a civil war as well. However, it seems that Milosevic's camp has considered that it is necessary to play this card, too, if they want to save the regime, as well as acquire a better negotiating position when the partition of Yugoslavia begins. However, they will not succeed in either area. The position of Tudjman and the new Croatian authorities is too firm for the republic to be destabilized by a few undeveloped communes and a few fanatical individuals, and the challenges of Kosovo indicate that, in his attempt to preserve power, Milosevic will not be able to abuse the nationalist recipe indefinitely.

Croatian Serbs will gain even less from their "uprising," but with their behavior will isolate themselves, something which has brought no good to any national minority. Should one really be making such crude furrows in the extremely sensitive field of interethnic relations just to benefit some base political aims?

Raskovic Proposes Croatian Serbs Vote on Autonomy

AU0208141490 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Jul 90 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Destabilizing Ustashas"]

[Text] Knin—A local committee of the Serbian Democratic Party for the Knin suburb of Kninsko Polje and the neighboring community of Vrpolje was founded in Knin today.

Dr. Jovan Raskovic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party, addressed the meeting. He said that the recent meeting in Srb was not a meeting which tried to destabilize Croatia and provoke conflicts, but a meeting which tried to destabilize Ustashas. Serbs' attitudes toward autonomy in Croatia will depend on the policies of the Croatian Assembly.

At the meeting in Kninsko Polje it was also announced that the Serbian National Council will meet on Tuesday [31 July], and that the Council will, as stated, propose to the Serbian people in Croatia that they express their views on autonomy through a plebiscite.

Alternative Movement Warns of Kosovo 'Escalation'

AU0208143690 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 27 Jul 90 p 7

["I.M."-signed report on "public communique" issued by the Kosovo Democratic Alliance Presidium in Gnjilane; date not given: "The Albanians Want No War With Their Neighbors"]

[Text] Gnjilane, 26 Jul—The political situation in the commune of Gnjilane is very serious and tense, and there are signs of its further negative escalation in all areas of life and work. We therefore appeal for dignified behavior avoiding all possible provocations, and for resistance to be confined to purely political means. The truth about Kosovo and the Albanians in particular, the communique later states, has swept across Europe. The conscience of international democratic public opinion has become aware of the need to raise its voice against the evils taking place in Kosovo, as is shown by the resolutions of the European Parliament and the U.S. Congress and the Slovene Assembly's declaration.

Regarding some press articles and the statements of some republican officials concerning the alleged arming of Albanians, the Presidium informs these officials that there are no victors in a war of bloodshed. The Albanians have no intention of fighting against their centuries-old neighbors. We demand a settlement of the problem of Kosovo by political means, through democratic, tolerant, and civilized dialogue.

BORBA Calls for Talks on Kosovo Autonomy

AU0208162490 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Jul 90 p 2

[Milos Antic commentary: "Bag Without Separatism"]

[Text] There is a lull in Kosovo. Is it temporary, caused by the summer vacation, or misleading, spiced up by preparations for the "decisive fight" and by "feeling the opponent's pulse?" One could say both. Everybody in this region, and especially the Albanians, are more than tired of politics and (ab)uses in the name of politics. For months, or rather for years, and especially from November 1988 onwards, they have been engaged nonstop in political destructive actions. Let us recall the mass protests and demonstrations in November 1988, and the first work stoppages in February, and the general strike in March, and the first armed clashes with the police in March and May 1989, and the first loss of life. There was also a strenuous situation at the beginning of this year when large numbers took part in bloody demonstrations whose aim was to grab power. Afterward the "rattling of keys" turned into a rattling of arms. There were more mass work stoppages, and they were brought to an end with the one-hour general strike in the middle of this year.

Here is the crux of political assessments and speculation. Some optimistically inspired people believe that this should be the finale to this kind of rebellion. Others believe, however, that this is just a "passage" to which an ellipsis has been attached and time-out has been requested. These latter people support their dark forebodings with the strongest and unfortunately most reliable source of information in Kosovo: rumors. These say that everybody is preparing for the "decisive battle." After all that has gone before, the Albanians are "redeploying and regrouping" their forces, because one must prepare for an open armed struggle, and the Serbs and the Montenegrins believe that the battle should "begin as soon as possible," since it "cannot be avoided," and considering that it is known "that all the Albanians are well armed," they too have begun to arm.

The situation is thus far from normal. However, it is a fact that regardless of all their Kosovo unpleasantries, there is a lull at present and there is a good chance that it may continue until the beginning of September. Any wise policy, as well as all peace loving people, would do everything possible to exploit even shorter and less quiet lulls to prevent the beginning of any kind sort of "war games" which are being heralded so loudly.

Unless reason prevails and extremes, exclusiveness, and blackmail are rejected, all those who at this moment do (not) exert influence in this sense will have to render account at some time or another.

The politicians, the legal and valid ones, as well as those of alternative movements, seem to have a chance to confirm that they are real politicians and not people who stoke war fires. A kind of dialogue must be established at once, so that the deceitful lull may be transformed into an oasis of peaceful, democratic, tolerant, and civilized talks. It is better now to patiently and reasonably discuss all these questions, even the unacceptable ones, than to discuss only the consequences later.

When Kosovo is concerned, it is much easier to say all this than to do it. Those who should possibly open a dialogue are as far from each other as the sky is from the earth. The leaders of the alternative movements in Kosovo in particular make this distance unbridgeable, because they, in brief, do not recognize the integrity of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. They do not even want to register as political parties according to the recently adopted law on political parties in Serbia. The position of Serbia is well known: "Serbia is prepared to talk with anybody on all questions except one, the integrity and sovereignty of the state of Serbia, or rather there can be no negotiation on the creation of any other state on its territory."

At least initial goodwill is displayed by this. It remains for the other side to do the same; if it cannot do so in the present alternative setup, it should find other people who will recognize the integrity of the Socialist Republic of Serbia by agreeing to talk, and thus open a dialogue and prevent an interethnic clash in Kosovo.

If the existing Kosovo Alternative, which is a real and strong political movement, indeed wants a peaceful and democratic solution to this Gordian knot, as its leaders are wont to say, then they must renounce, before any dialogue takes place, those in their ranks who advocate separatism against a part of the Yugoslav territory and the territory of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. With separatism in their bag, they have no chance of sitting down at any negotiating table.

It is clear to all that one should discuss the autonomy of the province—why not say so—and the highest degree of autonomy according to criteria recognized and applied in the world, but these talks should not include any granting of state powers to provinces which cannot be states within a state. With such an act, the Albanians in Kosovo would themselves be brought into an unequal or subordinate position as against others in Yugoslavia. They would virtually have four states: the possible Kosovo state, as well as their mother state, Albania, and in addition they could not avoid either Serbia or Yugoslavia, which declare that they do not want to give up a part of their territory at any price.

Therefore the talks of the SFRY Presidency with members of the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo—if the latter will be able to gather and to meet—are expected with visible impatience and so is a clear position of the federal government on some questions that are within their powers.

Kosovo Presidency Criticizes Federal, Serb Organs

LD0208203890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1828 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] Pristina, 2 Aug (TANJUG)—The Republic of Serbia continues the implementation of measures which strongly violate democratic relations and the law and block the work of Kosovo organs and overal political and economic life in that province, ethnic Albanian members of the Kosovo Presidency, headed by President Hisen Kajdomcaj, assessed today.

As a reaction to the Serbian Assembly's suspension of the Kosovo Assembly and Government, the Kosovo official's demand that Federal and Serbian organs do their best to enable the normal functioning of the Assembly and other organs in Kosovo. Their criticisms were aimed specifically at the Yugoslav State Presidency, the Yugoslav Government and the Serbian Assembly.

The Serbian Assembly suspended the Kosovo Assembly and Government because the ethnic Albanian deputies had adopted an unconstitutional declaration proclaiming Kosovo, which is part of Serbia, a republic.

Ethnic Albanian members of the Kosovo Presidency believe that the Yugoslav State Presidency should have asked the constitutional court of Yugoslavia to assess the constitutionality and legality of the law on which the Serbian Assembly had based its decision.

Kosovo officials demand "respect for the political individuality of Kosovo as a constitutive part of the Yugoslav Federation and as an equal participant in [word indistinct] on the country's future system."

Serbian Delegates Block Yugoslav Assembly's Work

LD0208200990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1604 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Aug (TANJUG)—Dissatisfied with the Federal Government's attitude toward agriculture, delegates from the Republic of Serbia and its province, Vojvodina, have blocked work on Thursday [2 August] of the Assembly of Yugoslavia, which was to decide on the latest package of government measures.

These delegates at sessions of three committees of the Republics' and Provinces' Chamber announced they had no instructions from their respective assemblies for a go-ahead on the proposed laws, after which the sessions were adjourned.

The chamber's president, Miran Mejak, is on Friday to meet with the heads of the republican and provincial delegations in an effort to break the deadlock. The meeting, as expected, is to be attended also by federal government cabinet members.

Serbia and Vojvodina believe the Federal Government has not done enough toward improving the position of agriculture, and are especially dissatisfied with the fixed purchasing price of wheat.

They have assessed on Thursday that the Federal Government has not acted seriously and responsibly enough toward agriculture and demands for its improved position.

The delegates decided in this way to veto the package of 20 or so draft laws even after Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandar Mitrovic showed readiness to open dialogue on all the questions concerning agriculture. If the Assembly of Vojvodina were to convene, Prime Minister Ante Markovic and the majority of his cabinet ministers could as early as Thursday evening travel to the provincial capital, Novi Sad, in an effort to resolve all open questions, Mitrovic said.

Delegates from the Republic of Slovenia on Thursday announced they could not vote on the draft laws following a Republic of Serbia Assembly decision to dissolve the Provincial Assembly and Government of Kosovo, so that the Kosovo Assembly could not take a stand on the proposed laws.

A delegate from Kosovo, ethnic Albanian Garip Haxhini reacted to this statement with a claim that the Kosovo Assembly had not been dissolved, but that its functions were transferred to the Assembly of Serbia. The delegation of the Kosovo Assembly, he said, continued working normally and could legitimately participate in the Federal Assembly's work.

Another delegate from Kosovo, Ethnic Albanian Fehmi Nalbani, however, disagreed with Haxhini [words indistinct] that a group of delegates from Kosovo could not take part in the work of the national assembly since it was not in a position to accept decisions of an assembly which did not elect them, namely, the Assembly of Serbia.

Slovene Party Expected To Seek U.S. Statehood

AU0208125390 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Jul 90 p 14

[Unattributed report: "The Republican Party in Slovenia?"]

[Text] Ljubljana—Citing sources that are "respected, even around the world," but which want to remain anonymous for the time being, Ljubljana DNEVNIK writes that next fall one can expect the founding of the Republican Party of Slovenia. The party, modeled on a similar party in the United States, is supposed to be founded by a several hundred Slovene businessmen. Several hundred prominent public figures and businessmen in Slovenia have allegedly already signed "The Draft Program of the Party," which will, according to DNEVNIK, strive for Slovenia becoming the 51st state of the United States.

Bosnian Officials Discuss Republic's Fate

AU0208162790 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28-29 Jul 90 p 11

[Unattributed report: "The World Wants Us Together"]

[Excerpt] Sarajevo—The 49th anniversary of the uprising against the occupiers and domestic traitors and the beginning of the armed revolution was marked in Bosnia-Hercegovina today with the laying of wreathes at the tomb of Josip Broz Tito in Belgrade, and the Vraca memorial park in Sarajevo. This anniversary was also marked by the festive presentation of the 27 July awards and the holding of about 20 popular rallies and celebrations all over the republic. To mark this holiday, the newly built Visegrad hydroelectric power station with a 400-kilovolt long-distance power line was joined to the electricity system. For the same occasion there were celebrations in dozens of villages and hamlets in this republic to mark the operation of new water pipelines, clinics, post offices, and asphalt connecting roads for highways, which were all built with private contributions.

A democratic and stable Yugoslavia is not only in the interest of our peoples and nationalities but it is also the strategic interest of Europe. Europe and the world only want us together. This was stressed by Bogic Bogicevic, member of the SFRY Presidency, while addressing those who had gathered at a great people's meeting in Medeno Polje near Bosanski Petrovac.

Addressing thousands of citizens of the Bosanski Petrovac commune and neighboring West Krajina communes, Bogicevic stressed that we should not forget that our people united in a common state because this was the only way to be able to save and defend themselves from numerous assaults on their national identity and territory. I am convinced, he said, that a united Yugoslavia is the best guarantor of the survival of every people and nationality and all of us together, which does not mean that relations in our country should not be placed on quite new foundations.

The national liberation struggle brought us freedom and peace, Bogicevic recalled, also pointing out the great contribution that the Krajina people made to this.

Warning that the settling of accounts from the past is always to the detriment of the future, he then said that "we do not have the victims' permission for reconciliation with the criminals just as the dead cannot be reconciled with the living. It is up to us to reconcile ourselves at work, in line with civilizatory achievements and criteria for the sake of people living today and tomorrow."

In Bogicevic's assessment, Yugoslavia is at a historic crossroads today too. Therefore, it should be balanced in assessing the present situation and should not take hasty steps because we will be faced with the difficult lessons of democracy, a modern economy, and a law-governed state.

Political trends in the country and the tendency for republics to turn into definitive states have serious consequences in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Mentioning the claims that had been made on this republic and its inclusion in certain geopolitical areas, Bogicevic stressed that "we in Bosnia-Hercegovina have thus been forced to consider our own state community, but we have just as decisively said that the most acceptable thing for us, for all our republics, and for Yugoslavia as a whole, is a federal form of the state structure with a reformed political and economic system, which is acceptable to all our peoples and nationalities and the federal units in Yugoslavia."

The fact that Bosnia-Hercegovina territory is being filled with political parties which are mostly national parties should be accepted not as our destiny but as an inevitable process which must be endureds, Bogicevic thought. Without challenging this civilizatory inevitability, one should point out to the creators of national fragmentation all the possible consequences of their actions.

Democratic achievements oblige the national and other political parties to do everything through their present and future programs and participation in government so that the proven value of a common life in this area is not undermined and it is not forgotten that Bosnia-Hercegovina is the mother state of Bosnia-Hercegovina Serbs and Croats, as well as Muslims, and not a reserve state.

We want a modern, democratic federal Yugoslavia not as a temporary but as a permanent community for the well-being of all our peoples. We do not want civil war, but some concepts of the confederative restructuring of Yugoslavia are now calling for borders to be opened between republics, which realistically brings the danger of open civil war which no normal person would want. This was said by Nijaz Durakovic, president of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina-Socialist Democratic Party, at yesterday's people's rally in Brezjak near Sokoc intended to mark the 27 July, the Uprising Day of the peoples and nationalities of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Durakovic stressed at these festivities that Bosnia-Hercegovina is no one's geopolitical space but it is the territory of the peoples and nationalities which live in it. Neither is Bosnia-Hercegovina the belly of Croatia as some warriors of the Croatian Democratic Community imagine it to be, or the "promised" land or the land of "the forefathers" of greater Serbian nationalism, he said. He added that we also resolutely oppose the demands for some national autonomies to be created in this republic. No borders whatsoever can be drawn between peoples which are vitally and territorially intertwined and any division would lead to a new unforeseeable historical misfortune for Serbs, Muslims, Croats, and all other peoples in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Nijaz Durakovic said at this people's meeting that if there is a confederalist reshaping of Yugoslavia, no one from outside can decide on the fate of Bosnia-Hercegovina apart from its peoples. And they will do this freely and they must do it through a referendum, Durakovic said. [passage omitted]

Bosnia 'Will Survive' Confederation, Federation

AU0208145690 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 30 Jul 90 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Bosnia-Hercegovina Will Survive in a Confederation as Well"]

[Text] "If an agreement is not reached on the federal organization of Yugoslavia, I firmly believe that Bosnia-Hercegovina will survive as a sovereign state in a confederation as well."

This was stated, among other things, by Zlatan Karavdic, president of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, in Mostar on Uprising Day, during his talk with the representatives of 17 communes from Hercegovina. He was answering a question about what will happen to Bosnia-Hercegovina if an agreement on a federation is not reached.

Karavdic also stressed that the current leadership of Bosnia-Hercegovina will not yield to attacks and pressure from various sides urging Bosnia-Hercegovina and its peoples to split or divide.

'Internationalization' of Macedonian Issue Urged

LD0208190490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1514 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] Resen (Macedonia), 2 Aug (TANJUG)—Urging internationalization of the Macedonian question, Yugoslav State Presidency member from Macedonia Vasil Tupurkovskion Thursday [2 August] stated that the Macedonian people will independently decide on the future of Macedonian state in Yugoslavia and on the quality of their relations with neighbours.

Alluding to Greece, Bulgaria and Albania which do not recognize the Macedonian national minority on their soil, nor the Macedonian people as a whole, Tuprukovski pointed up at a rally at a Macedonian village on the border with Greece and Albania the necessity of a definitive emancipation of all Macedonians.

The Macedonian people has never transgressed the rights of others and therefore was justified in demanding from all countries and peoples support in this struggle, assessed Tupurkovski. The struggle, he added, was of special interest for the national prosperity of the Greek, Bulgarian and Albanian people and the democratic processes in their respective countries.

Mitkov Marks Macedonian Anniversaries, Ilinden

LD0208200590 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1557 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] Krusevo, 2 Aug (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia has historical, as well as present and future interests in being a constituent part of the state of equal Yugoslav nations and nationalities, but not under conditions placing it into a position of unequality, president of the Macedonian Presidency Vladimir Mitkov said here on Thursday [2 August].

Mitkov addressed a rally attended by tens of thousands of people to mark a double celebration of the Macedonian nation—the 87th anniversary of the Ilinden uprising against the Ottoman Turks and the 46th anniversary of the establishment of the Macedonian state as one of the six Yugoslav republics.

Mitkov said that the "Macedonian nation will say its final word at the forthcoming multi-party elections on the place and role of its republic in the state community of Yugoslav nations and nationalities." The Macedonian nation will not accept any ultimatum or yield to pressures for changing its state and legal status, established by the Yugoslav Constitution and the basic law of the republic, he pointed out.

"We are ready to face up to all possible options for the future organization of Yugoslavia, while considering a modern democratic federation to be the optimum solution," said Mitkov. He spoke in Krusevo, a small Macedonian town which went down in history as the place where the Krusevo Republic was proclaimed in 1903, during the Ilinden (St Elijah's day) uprising.

Today's celebration started with a wreath-laying ceremony at the monastry of St Prohor Pcinjski, where the Macedonian republic within the Yugoslav Federation was proclaimed on August 2, 1944. Several incidents took place during the celebration. Members of an extreme nationalist party recently established in Serbia, the Serbian Chetnik Movement, headed by their leader Vojislav Seselj, tore down the plaques commemorating the event from the monastry wall and continued their harassement. Seselj was arrested by the police and, after a questioning, released.

After that members of the all-Macedonian action, a nationalist party recently set up in Macedonia, read their manifesto proclaiming this Yugoslav republic an "autonomous, sovereign and free state." An explanation of the move said that in conditions when the Yugoslav Federation was wearing out, the "Macedonian nation has no choice but to decide in favour of a state and legal independence." The all-Macedonian action will strive for a Yugoslavia of united, autonomous and sovereign states, the manifesto said.

Macedonian President Protests Monastery Arrests

LD0308092990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2115 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] Skopje, 2 Aug (TANJUG)—Vladimir Mitkov, the Macedonian Presidency president, energetically denounced the removal of memorial plaques in Prohor Pcinjski Monastery, and at the same time expressed disagreement with the way police treated Macedonian citizens who came to the monastery to celebrate their national holiday.

Mitkov presented these denunciations during a talk with representatives of a group of citizens who, after the intervention of the police in Prohor Pcinjski Monastery, protested in front of the Macedonian Assembly. The talk between President Mitkov and the citizens' representatives was also attended by Tito Belicanec, Macedonian Executive Council vice president.

President Mitkov stated that competent Macedonian bodies have already called for a detailed investigation into the undesirable events at the celebrations in Prohor Pcinjski Monastery, especially the activities of competent Serbian bodies for the protection of the memorial museum of ASNOM [Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Macedonia]. They also called on Serbian bodies to explain the protection of integrity, freedom, and rights of Macedonian citizens who attended the celebrations in the monastery.

Tito Belicanec, the Macedonian Executive Council vice president, immediately visited the place where the undesirable events occurred and called for an explanation from Serbian competent bodies. He was particularly interested in the protection of Macedonian citizens, who were considered to have been put under temporary arrest.

The president of the Bujanovac Municipal Assembly met with the Macedonian Executive Council vice president, and on that occasion he expressed his regrets over the removal of the memorial plaques and events that followed. Belicanec was also informed that competent bodies as early as this morning prevented representatives of certain nationalist parties from Serbia, who were intending to thwart the 2 August celebrations, from attending them. In this connection, it was stated that Vojislav Seselj was put under temporary arrest as the leader of the group which removed the memorial plaques from the memorial museum of ASNOM's first session.

A statement from a meeting of the Macedonian Presidency today says that competent bodies are taking other measures to clarify this undesirable and unacceptable incident and to overcome its consequences.

The group of citizens which was subjected to a rude intervention by police from Bujanovac and Vranje presented its view of the events. They affirm that "the tyrannical behavior of the Serbian police was unprovoked."

They called for a protest letter to be sent to competent Serbian bodies and for other measures to be taken to "protect dignity of the Macedonian state and its people."

LC Withdraws Montenegro Assembly Head's Support

AU0208103790 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Jul 90 p 14

[D. Becirovic report: "When President Is Left Without His Backer]

[Text] Titograd, 25 Jul—Dragan Radonjic, who is still president of the Montenegrin Assembly—although his backer, the League of Communists [LC] of Montenegro, which promoted him to this position, withdrew its support at its last session—informed the public via the Secretariat for Information of the Montenegrin Assembly about the content of an open letter sent to the Central Committee of the League of Communists.

Let us remind readers that Dr. Dragan Radonjic, after the well-known changes in Montenegro last January, was one of the leading men in this part of the country. Immediately after the replacement of the Titograd party leadership he was appointed president of the Communal Committee and then elected member of the Presidium of the LC Central Committee of Montenegro. After that he was proposed by the Montenegrin leadership as their candidate for president of the Montenegrin Assembly. Much has happened in the meanwhile, many people developed a liking for power, many forgot their grass roots and origins, and confrontations started to take place. In all this, President Radonjic lost his backer and is now writing a letter in response to the Communists who stopped supporting him.

In a very sharp and long letter to the LC Central Committee, Dragan Radonjic says that "in order to be a nonparty president of the Assembly, he has decided to leave the League of Communists." In his letter to the Central Committee, the former top party official accuses the Montenegrin leadership of distancing itself, primarily for political-tactical reasons, from the state, and of coming down from power, but still retaining the control of power. Retelling the past the way he sees it, Radonjic criticizes the party's meetings before he came to power, but he does not explain how the party's demands for multiparty elections were somehow lost in the Assembly.

In the letter to the Central Committee, he states, among other things, that he, as president of the Montenegrin Assembly, must (now, when he is a former Communist and party leader) warn the Central Committee about its responsibility and consequences for the behavior by the Presidium of the Central Committee, because the League of Communists still enjoys the greatest influence in society, so that a new authority can be peacefully elected through multiparty elections scheduled for the end of the year.

This is what the president, who no longer enjoys the support of his backer, wrote. Whether after this letter the Communists will officially demand that Radonjic be replaced as president of the Assembly, because he is no longer even a member of the party which installed him as president, remains to be seen.

'Party of Yugoslavs' Joins Reformist Alliance

LD0208144290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0837 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] Zagreb, 2 Aug (TANJUG)—The Party of Yugoslavs [SJ - Stranka Jugoslavena], based in Zagreb, has decided to join the Alliance of Yugoslav Reformist Forces set up at the initiative of Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council. According to its

leadership, the SJ at the moment has a membership of about 500,000 in all the federal units.

In a statement issued today from the session of the SJ Executive Committee and signed by Ante Ercegovic, the party chairman, Jovan Njezic, chairman of the council of the party, and Ante Popovic, chairman of the SJ Executive Council, the party welcomes the initiative by the president of the Federal Executive Council which it sees as the only possibility for further pursuing the federal government's reform programs at the level of the federation.

The statement goes on to draw attention to aggressive methods by totalitarian authorities designed to push aside all Yugoslav interests. The SJ joins the Alliance of Reformist Forces as an independent party which has so far functioned in line with a political and economic program of redefining Yugoslav interests and on the basis of the principle of full autonomy and equality of all the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia. This party will take part in negotiations about the way of organizing the Alliance of the Reformed Forces as a new political bloc.

In conclusion, the leaders of the party warn that following their decision the party members and branches throughout the country are not expected to individually join Markovic's party.

Maribor-Based Member of Demos Leaving Coalition

AU0208141390 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Jul 90 p 6

[Unattributed TANJUG report: "They Are Leaving Demos"]

[Text] Maribor, 27 Jul—The Maribor Committee of the Social Democratic Party has announced that it is leaving Demos [Democratic Opposition of Slovenia], a coalition of parties. The Executive Council of the Social Democratic Party of Maribor reached this decision because, as it states, the four members of Demos made some moves that had not been agreed on by everybody.

The Maribor branch mentioned the election of the new mandator of the Executive Council of the Maribor Assembly, and some other cadre moves. The representatives of the Social Democratic Party of Maribor said that out of all the parties that ran in the elections, they won the most votes, and the Demos leadership did not take this into consideration.

Branch of Muslim Party Established in Sandzak

AU0208112290 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 30 Jul 90 p 3

["Z.J." and "M.M."-signed report: "Autonomy for Sandzak"]

[Text] Novi Pazar—The founding assembly of the Novi Pazar branch of the Party for Democratic Action was held in the Novi Pazar city stadium in front of more than 30,000 citizens from Sandzak, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Montenegro, Macedonia, and guests from Chicago, Canada, and Istanbul. In his introductory speech Dr. Sulejman Ugljanin, president of the Initiative Committee for Sandzak, spoke about the autonomy of the Muslims in that region whom the Serbian and Montenegrin authorities ignore and treat as the "third group of people." Speaking about the future structure of the country, Alija Izetbegovic said that demands for the unification of Serbia and Montenegro are becoming increasingly frequent. If this happens, he said, the Party for Democratic Action will demand not only cultural, but also political autonomy for the Muslims in Sandzak.

Nine Reportedly Flee From Albania, Seek Asylum

AU0208120690 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28-29 Jul 90 p 12

["M.M."-signed report: "Nine Albanians Flee"]

[Text] Plav—The day before yesterday, nine citizens of the People's Republic of Albania fled to our country. They told the magistrate in Plav that they fled because of oppression, particularly during the past year. They asked to remain in our country or to be allowed to go to some other country.